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Rodin Sculpture

Rodin Sculpture

IN THE CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART

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Frontispiece: Self Portrait of Rodin. Drawing. Musée Rodin, Paris.

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Foreword

The fiftieth anniversary of the death of Auguste Rodin is both an appropriate and belated time to present a catalogue of his sculptures in this Museum. Appropriate, since he stands alone as the greatest of sculptors coeval with the masters of Impressionism and Post-Impressionism; belated, since, despite the lip service to his name and *oeuvre*, he occupies an unjustified equivocal position with relation to his painter colleagues. The market tells us everything at the same time it tells us nothing of significance. Cézanne, Gauguin, Van Gogh, et al., are firmly ensconced in the shrines of Mammon; Rodin, a mere sculptor, receives but votive tablets in remembrance. Yet he is as a tower among the lowly structures of his sculptor contemporaries. In the whole of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries his work stands alone as a personal and creative gesture of and against his time. The number of his works, the complexity of their origins and development, the subsequent history of their appreciation, duplication, and distribution make the study of his art unusually difficult and tortuous.

The presence in The Cleveland Museum of Art of twenty-three works by Rodin, the gifts of numerous donors, largely during the first quarter of this century, thrusts a responsibility upon the keepers of this institution: to publish as fully as possible the works here, and to place them in Rodin's *oeuvre*. To this purpose we have been fortunate to possess the services of Athena Tacha Spear, a scholar from nearby Oberlin College, who embodies those two qualities most essential to a Rodin student, tenacity and insight. Her cata-

logue is offered here in homage to Rodin and as a part of our continuing efforts to publish our collections in as distinguished a manner as possible.

SHERMAN E. LEE

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Abbreviations of Publications

Album Jean A. Ducourneau, ed., *Album Balzac*, Paris, Gallimard, 1962.

Balzac (or B. in the catalogue) *Balzac et Rodin*, exhibition catalogue, Musée Rodin, Paris, 1950.

Bartlett Truman H. Bartlett, "Auguste Rodin, Sculptor," in *Auguste Rodin; Readings on His Life and Work*, ed. A.E. Elsen, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1965 (reprinted from the *American Architect and Building News*, XXV, nos. 682-703, Jan. 19 - June 15, 1889).

Cladel, 1936 Judith Cladel, *Rodin, sa vie glorieuse et inconnue*, 8th ed., Paris, B. Grasset, 1936.

Elsen, *Gates* Albert E. Elsen, *Rodin's Gates of Hell*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1960.

Elsen, 1963 Albert E. Elsen, *Rodin*, New York, MOMA., 1963.

Grappe (or G. in the catalogue) George Grappe, *I. Hôtel Biron*, 5th ed., Paris, Musée Rodin, 1944.

Lethève Jacques Lethève, "Les Portraits de Balzac; essai de répertoire iconographique," *L'Année balzacienne*, Paris, 1963, pp. 361-390.

Maillard Léon Maillard, *Auguste Rodin, statuaire*, Paris, H. Floury, 1899.

Introduction

Fifty years after Rodin's death, it is disturbing to realize that in spite of the innumerable publications on this great sculptor, his work still suffers from inadequate study and considerable misunderstandings. Among the major museums that own large collections of his sculpture, rare are the ones that have published worthwhile catalogues;[1] and the only relatively complete and comprehensive reference work on the entire oeuvre (summary and unscholarly as it may be) is still Georges Grappe's catalogue of the Musée Rodin in Paris.[2] Surprisingly enough, the three American museums that have the largest collections of Rodins, the Philadelphia Rodin Museum, the California Palace of the Legion of Honor in San Francisco, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, have not yet brought any significant contribution to the study of the master.[3] Cleveland owns probably the fourth best public collection of Rodins in this country,[4] important not so much for the number of works as for the fact that it contains mostly casts and marbles made before Rodin's death.[5] This study and catalogue intends to examine with reasonable thoroughness each Rodin sculpture in the Cleveland Museum within the context of related works and of the sculptor's whole development.

[1] Among the serious museum publications are R. Alley, *Tate Gallery, Foreign Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture* (London, 1959), pp. 205-227; and B. Wennberg, "Auguste Rodin," *Skulptörer; ein konstbok fran Nationalmuseum* (Stockholm, 1964), pp. 112-137.

[2] *I. Hôtel Biron* (5th ed.; Paris, 1944); hereafter cited as "Grappe."

[3] Albert E. Elsen in collaboration with John Tanock is now preparing a scholarly catalogue of the Philadelphia Rodin Museum.

[4] The largest privately owned ensemble of Rodin works is in the Joseph H. Hirshhorn collection (17 pieces).

[5] All of the Metropolitan Rodins are also from before his death, but I believe that the Philadelphia and San Francisco collections contain a number of posthumous casts.

The Portraits

The numerous portrait busts that Rodin executed during his career would alone be sufficient to constitute a voluminous catalogue and to establish his fame as a great sculptor. Famous literary men, artists, politicians, beautiful aristocratic ladies allowed or asked him to fix their image for eternity. Rodin thus produced many masterpieces, not only through his psychological insight but also through his original formal solutions to the problem of making a bust—a part of a figure arbitrarily cut and placed on a base.

Among the Rodin sculptures in the Cleveland Museum there are six portraits, representing each productive decade of his career, from 1870 to 1910. The earliest one, known under the title *Mignon* [I, Plate 1], is a bust of the sculptor's wife, Marie-Rose Beuret, first of a series of portraits that he made of her throughout his life.[1] She was born in 1844[2] and this bust represents her in her mid-twenties, five or six years after Rodin met her. Although it is a relatively early piece, it has none of the usual dainty post-rococo sweetness and the detailed trimmings of his early women's heads. It is an impulsive, almost violent work, not only because of the spontaneous modeling, but mainly because of the freely flowing hair and the alert expression of the young woman.

Judith Cladel suggests that *Mignon* dates from 1867 or 1868, three or four years after Rodin met Rose in 1864.[3] But Georges Grappe, who dates the piece ca. 1870 (nos. 14 and 15), seems to be right, since it is doubtful that Rodin made such a direct portrait while working under Carrier-Belleuse in Paris (1863 to 1870), and early

Plate 1. *Mignon: Mme Rodin.* I.

Note: in each caption the Roman numeral following the title of the sculpture refers to the piece's number in the catalogue section, which begins on page 89.

in 1871 he left for Belgium where Rose did not follow him until more than a year later. It is very probable that this head was made in the winter of 1870-1871, during the siege of Paris by the Germans, a period of anguish and extreme suffering for the Parisians, which could account for the haggard face of *Mignon*.

While in most of the later portraits of Madame Rodin the sculptor stressed the solemn and proud immobility of her face, there are two other heads made after her which pursue in increasing degrees the mood of *Mignon:* the brooding bust of *Bellona* (Grappe, nos. 44, 45, and 98) and the screaming face of the woman for the monument of *The Defense* or *The Call to Arms* (Grappe, nos. 42 and 437). Both submitted to competitions—the first for a bust of the Republic,[4] the second for a monument commemorating the defense of Paris during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870—they were finished in 1879 and thus belong to the beginning of Rodin's mature style. They are, after *Mignon*, the earliest identified portraits of Rose, recording her violent temperament that Rodin often experienced in explosive scenes of jealousy.

Several later portraits of Madame Rodin (Grappe, nos. 16 and 17, 250, 249 and 421),[5] very similar to each other, seem to represent her face at a much more mature age. Grappe assigns the date 1890 to nos. 250 and 249, and 1871 to no. 16, which is also called *L'Alsacienne* (no. 17 is cast after no. 16).[6] *L'Alsacienne* [Plate 2], extremely similar to the head no. 250 [Plate 3], could not have been done right after *Mignon*. It must be a mature portrait of Rose, probably also from the early 1890's. An "Alsacienne" mentioned in a letter of Rodin to Rose, dated October 1, 1871,[7] as well as the "Petit buste d'Alsacienne, terre cuite" listed by Judith Cladel[8] as first exhibited in 1871, must refer to a different work. They could be the "Petite Alsacienne" mentioned by Bartlett,[9] which Rodin modeled in Strasbourg in 1863 after an Alsatian girl that he saw in a church celebration. And this seemingly lost bust may be a version of the work that Grappe calls *Orpheline Alsacienne* (no. 18), exhibited in Belgium in 1872 but made earlier in France.[10]

Plate 2. *L'Alsacienne: Mme Rodin*. I, A. (Archives Photographiques.)

Plate 3. *Mme Rodin*. I, C.

Plate 4. *William E. Henley*. II.

Plate 6. *Victor Hugo*. III.

Plate 5. *Victor Hugo.* III, other bronze casts #1. (Archives Photographiques.)

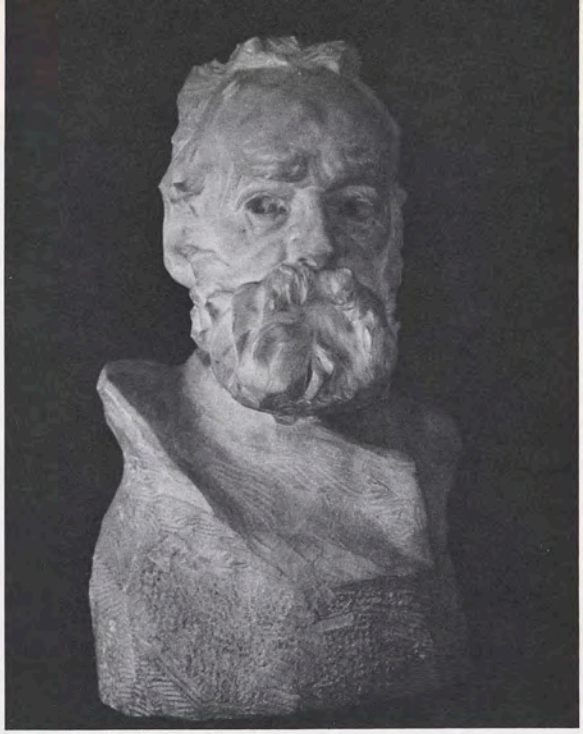


Plate 7. *Victor Hugo.* III, marble replicas #2.

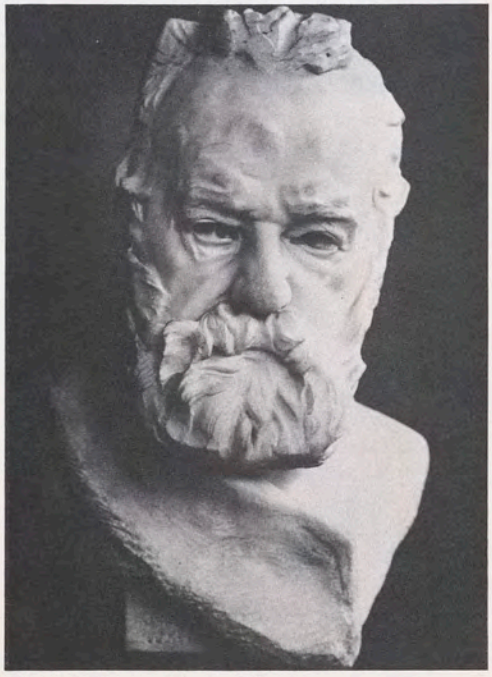


Plate 8. *Victor Hugo.* III, marble replicas #3. (Photo Bulloz.)

According to Rodin's most reliable biographer, J. Cladel,[11] in 1891, Camille Claudel, his disciple and assistant with whom he had had a passionate relation since the mid-1880's, abandoned him. It is likely that after this rupture which terminated a period of extreme tension and heart-breaking scenes on the part of both Rose and Camille, Rodin recorded his return to Rose by this series of portraits of her in a grave, calm, and contained mood. Therefore, I suggest as a date for the mature portraits of Madame Rodin (including the *Alsacienne*) 1891 or 1892, rather than 1890.[12]

* * *

Cleveland owns two portraits from the 1880's, both from the early part of the decade: the *Bust of William Ernest Henley* (1849-1903) [II, Plate 4], the English poet and critic, and a *Bust of Victor Hugo* (1802-1885) [III, Plate 6]. They illustrate most eloquently the difference between the crisp, lively modeling of a Rodin bust made after the model, like the Henley one, and the dull, generalized surface of a portrait made from memory, like the Hugo.

Plate 9. *Victor Hugo*. III, marble replicas #4.

Henley was editor of the *Magazine of Art* between 1882 and 1886, and enthusiastically introduced Rodin to the English public while the sculptor was still unknown in France. Rodin met Henley when he visited London ca.1881[13] through their common friend, the engraver and painter Alphonse Legros. At that time or soon after[14] he made the bust of Henley in bronze, and after the poet died in 1903 another cast of it was installed (under Rodin's supervision) over Henley's tomb, in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral in London.

According to a letter by Rodin, undated but written from Italy probably in 1915,[15] the Cleveland cast is the one owned originally by Henley, the only one that the sculptor had given away up to that time other than the cast in St. Paul's Cathedral. However, there is another bronze of this work, now in the possession of Jules Zessman, New York, which, according to Lindal Tweed's testimony, was given by Rodin early in the century to her father, the English sculptor John Tweed. As it is known that John Tweed was a good friend of both Rodin and Henley, it is quite possible indeed that Rodin himself had given that cast to the English sculp-

Plate 10. *Victor Hugo.* III, other portraits. (Photo Bulloz.)

tor, and when he wrote to Knoedler in 1915, seventy-five years old and in bad health, he simply forgot about it. But it is more likely that Tweed made a plaster mold from Henley's cast and, probably with Rodin's permission, he had it cast in bronze. The reason for the above assumption is that the Zessman cast shows numerous marks from joints of a piece mold (on the eyebrows, middle of forehead, under the eyes, vertically across cheeks, etc.) which do not appear on the Cleveland cast. Therefore, even if the Zessman bronze is not a *surmoulage,* there is no doubt that the two casts were not made from the same wax.[16]

* * *

According to T. H. Bartlett,[17] sometime in 1883 Rodin was introduced to Victor Hugo; and although the poet, who had just finished posing for another bust, refused to pose again, Rodin was allowed to watch him during meals and conversations, and work on a bust from memory. While modeling the bust, the sculptor made numerous sketches of his sitter, eighty in all, which, again according to Bartlett, were bought after Hugo's death by a Paris art dealer, Monsieur Sagot. They were later sold by Sagot to a Besançon collector and eventually disappeared. Only two drypoints and an engraving made after these drawings exist now, each in several states (Grappe, nos. 102-104). The bust was finished in bronze six months before Hugo's death and was exhibited at the Paris Salon in 1884 (cat. no. 3862). Several bronze casts (cat. nos. III—2, 3, 4, 6, 10) are similar to this original edition [Plate 5], while several others, with a different, taller base, probably come from a later edition (the Cleveland cast [Plate 6], and nos. III—7 and 8). Two of the marble replicas of this bust were carved, one (no. 2) [Plate 7] after the first edition and the other (no. 1) after the later bronzes.

There is a much smaller head of Hugo (H. 7 in.; Grappe, no. 161) made after the original bust and very similar to it. There also exists, both in bronze and marble, a larger bust with head bent forward (H. 27-1/2 in.; Grappe, no. 287) [Plate 10], which comes from the over-lifesize walking nude of the poet (Grappe, no. 286) for the second Hugo monument. The original bust

served, of course, as the model for the heads of both Hugo monuments, whose unhappy story is in brief the following:

In 1889 the Direction des Beaux-Arts du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique decided to decorate with sculpture the church of Sainte-Geneviève (transformed four years earlier into the Pantheon) to honor the great men of the French revolutions. The two arms of the transept were supposed to receive the monuments to Mirabeau and Hugo, and the commission for the latter was soon given to Rodin. He conceived of the poet as seated on the rocks of Guernesey in a meditative position, with three female figures behind and above him, muses or personifications of his three great poetic works: *La Légende des siècles, Les Châtiments,* and *Les Voix intérieures.* The position of the poet and the three female nudes varied in the five or six projects for this monument,[18] which a year later was judged by the Committee inappropriate for the Pantheon. However, soon after, in 1891, it was decided that the group could instead be placed in the gardens of the Luxembourg and, while starting new projects for the Pantheon, Rodin received the money to have the first monument carved in marble for the Luxembourg. The definitive arrangement of this group and the carving advanced very slowly; the female nudes were finally omitted, and in 1909[19] Rodin delivered the monument in marble with only one figure, the seated poet. It was not accepted for the Luxembourg gardens; it was placed in the gardens of the Palais Royal until 1933, when it was given to the Musée Rodin.

The second Hugo monument for the Pantheon had no better luck. It was supposed to represent the poet standing on the rocks, contemplating the ocean, crowned by Iris and the genius of the nineteenth century. Two projects for it were completed (the second of which contains the group of *The Sirens* emerging out of the ocean as "the voices of the sea" [Plate 11]), as well as a superb walking over-lifesize nude, a variation of the earlier *St. John the Baptist* and *The Walking Man.* But Rodin never finished this second monument, although in 1914, pressed by the Fine Arts administra-

Plate 11. Definitive model
for the Victor Hugo monument
for the Pantheon. XIII, other works B.

Plate 12. *Honoré Balzac.* Daguerrotype, 1842. Maison de Balzac, Paris.

tion, he promised to deliver it in 1916. The intervention of the First World War and the sculptor's death in 1917 interrupted forever that last stage of a twenty-five-year-old project.

* * *

Of the next two Rodin portraits in Cleveland, both from the 1890's, one is a head [IV, Plate 27] for another famous and unfortunate monument, the statue of the French nineteenth-century novelist, Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850). To trace the evolution of the Balzac monument through Rodin's numerous studies is a most complex and difficult undertaking. There exist in the Musées Rodin in Paris and Meudon over twenty different studies for the head and as many for the figure. In 1950 the Paris museum showed most of them in an exhibition called *Balzac et Rodin* (hereafter quoted as *Balzac*), cataloguing them in a roughly chronological order. Except for that occasion, however, it has been impossible for the spectator and the Rodin student to see those studies together and to compare them effectively, since some are in the Paris museum, some in Meudon, and many in the inaccessible reserves of both Musées Rodin. In spite of those difficulties, I shall here try to place the Cleveland head within the series of studies and to clarify the development of the Balzac monument by separating the different categories of studies and by pointing out their relationship.

When, in the mid-1880's, the Société des Gens de Lettres raised funds for a monument to Balzac, they gave the commission to the sculptor Henri Chapu, who died in 1891 leaving only a sketch for it.[20] Through the influence of the new president of the Société at the time, Emile Zola, Rodin received the commission in July 1891 and agreed to deliver the piece in less than two years. It is well known how painstakingly conscientious Rodin was in this task, which was to be his last major work. He read all of Balzac's novels and biographies;[21] he looked at many of the portraits made during the writer's lifetime;[22] he traveled often around Tours, Balzac's homeland, to study the physiognomy of the people and the nature of that region; he even obtained the proportions of Balzac's body from his tai-

Plate 13. *Balzac.* IV, A.

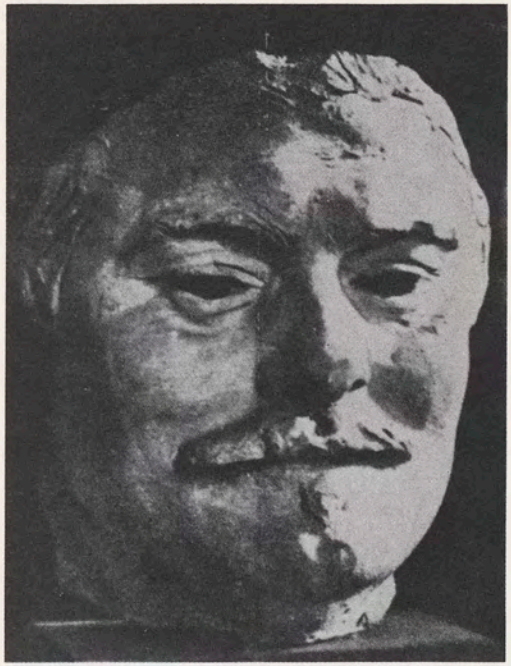


Plate 14. *Balzac.* IV, B.

Plate 15. *Balzac.* IV, C.

Plate 16. *Balzac.* IV, D.

Plate 17. *Balzac.* IV, E.

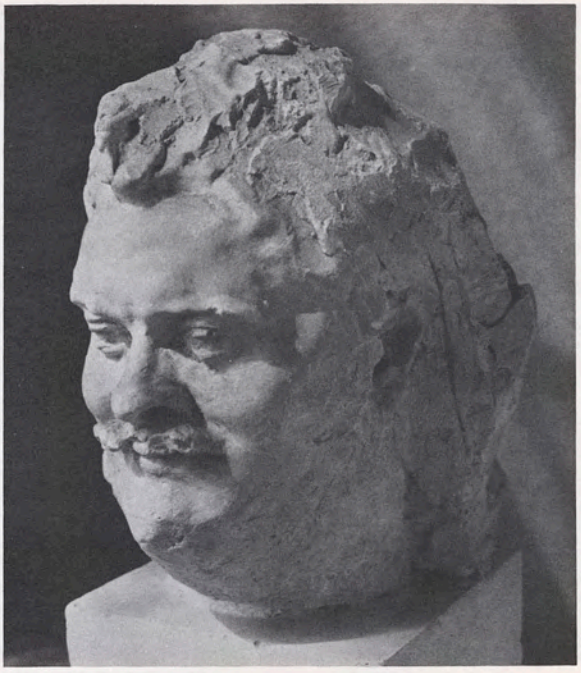


Plate 18. *Balzac.* IV, H.

lor and thus was able to employ for the studies of the figure the appropriate models. He actually knew well the best model for this figure, because "the person whose body resembled the most Balzac's . . . was Carrier-Belleuse,"[23] Rodin's former employer.

Among the studies for the head, four (A, B, C, and D) represent Balzac young, short-haired, and cheerful. Although they were probably done after living models, most likely men from the Touraine,[24] they were inspired by three early portraits of Balzac known to Rodin, as C. Goldscheider convincingly points out. Head A [Plate 13] is somewhat comparable to the sepia attributed to Achille Deveria, representing Balzac in his early twenties;[25] masks B and C [Plates 14 and 15] are close to the sepia by Louis Boulanger done ca. 1829;[26] and mask D [Plate 16] seems related to the pastel attributed to Antonin Court or to J. A. Gérard-Seguin, done in 1841.[27]

Plate 19. *Balzac.* IV, *I.*

Plate 20. *Balzac.* IV, J.

Plate 21. *Balzac.* IV, N(?). (Photo E. Steichen.)

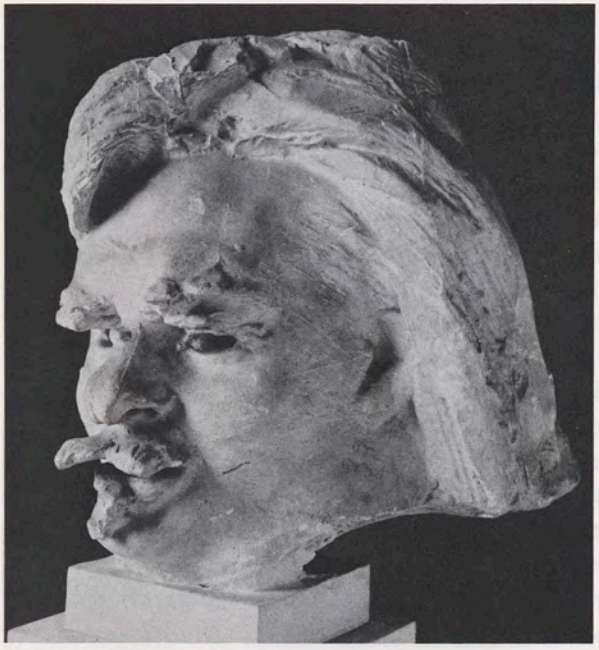


Plate 22. *Balzac.* IV, O.

Plate 23. *Balzac.* IV, P.

Plate 23a. *Balzac.* IV, Q.

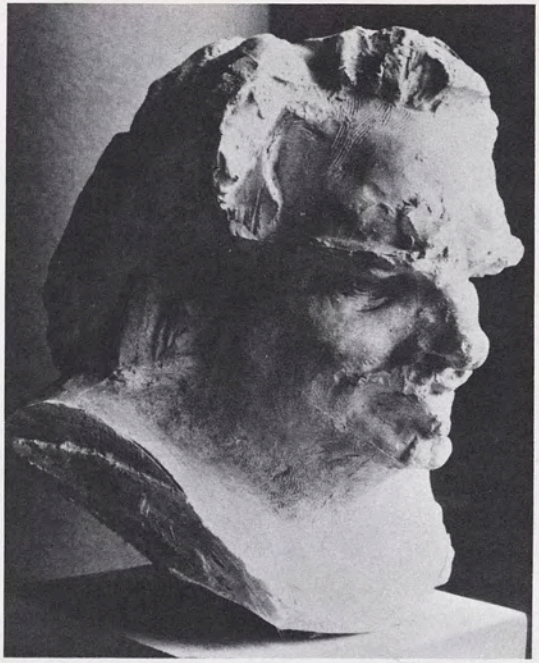


Plate 24. *Balzac.* IV, R.

Plate 25. *Balzac.* IV, T.

The next earliest group of studies for the head might be the humorous or romantic ones showing Balzac fatter and long-haired (E, F, H, I, and J).[28] Again according to Goldscheider, heads E [Plate 17] and F, with their broad smile, can be compared to Benjamin Roubaud's caricature of Balzac in the newspaper *Charivari* of October 12, 1838,[29] while head H [Plate 18] and busts I and J [Plates 19 and 20], with their sentimental melancholy, remind one of Emile Lassalle's lithograph published in 1840.[30]

Plate 27. *Balzac.* IV (W).

Plate 26. *Balzac.* IV, *V.*

Plate 28. *Balzac.* IV, *X.*

Plate 28a. *Balzac.* IV, Y.

Plate 29. Sketch for *Balzac*. IV, *b*.

Among the earliest studies for the whole figure are certainly the ones dressed in European nineteenth-century clothes (*a*, *b*, *c*, and *d*). Three of them are small, barely formed clay sketches, one with the right arm stretched out resting on a support (*a*) and two with the arms crossed behind the back (*b* [Plate 29] and *c* [Plate 29a]).[31] Figure *d* is a larger, much more finished plaster model of Balzac in redingote leaning against a pile of books and with arms crossed on his chest [Plate 30]. According to Cladel, when Rodin heard about Balzac's tailor being still alive, "he commissions from him a pair of pants and a vest after the measurements of the great man and he models a new sketch of him thus dressed."[32] This could be the handsome figure *d* [Plate 30]; but it could also be another early, obviously lost study in a period costume, which Rodin showed to the Société committee in 1894 and which is described by G. Ferry as follows: ". . . a plaster cast depicting a man, dressed in the fashion of 1830: tails, short breeches, stockings attached to the breeches with garters; on one arm lay a piece of cloth. . . ."[33]

Other early studies for the body, also done in 1891

Plate 29a. Sketch for *Balzac*. IV, *c*.

Plate 30. *Balzac*. IV, *d*.
(Archives Photographiques.)

or 1892, are two figures dressed in the monk's robe which was Balzac's working gown and which Rodin kept in the definitive statue. One (*e*) [Plate 31] represents the writer holding a manuscript, with the sinister leg forward and the head slightly turned to the left. In spite of the extreme sketchiness of this model, the face appears to be rather young. The other study (*f*) [Plate 32], much more finished, represents Balzac with his hands at his waist and a pile of books or manuscripts by his dexter foot. Both of these figures, with the indecisive position of hands and legs, show kinships to Gavarni's drawing of Balzac in the monk's robe standing before his desk with hands purposelessly placed at the waistline.[34] Figure *f* could be the study described by R. Marx as early as 1892: "Of the future work, there exists a very advanced and very precise maquette. Balzac is represented standing, draped in the Dominican's frock . . . An undefinable smile showing at once kindness, mockery and challenge slightly opens the sinuous mouth . . ."[35] However, this description could also apply to an obviously lost study, perhaps a clothed maquette of the "wrestler" type nudes (see *h* and *i* below), presented by Rodin to the Société committee as reports *Le Temps* of January 11, 1892: "The committee for the monument, composed by MM. Emila Zola, Hector Malot, Arthur Arnould, etc., went yesterday to the studio of the artist who presented to them his *maquette.* Balzac is standing, arms crossed, head upwards and dressed in his legendary monk's robe fastened at the waist by a cord. The committee congratulated M. Rodin for his project and asked him to start immediately working on the marble." The same Balzac study is described by the newspaper *L'Eclair* of March 8, 1892: "Rodin has represented Balzac standing, draped in his legendary monk's robe fastened at the waist by a rope; the arms are crossed on the chest, and the right leg brought forward. His head is raised, his eye is calm and profound, his posture composed. The sculptor has been inspired by a drawing of Eugène Giraud[36] and by a daguerreotype of Nadar, which render Balzac's physiognomy much more faithfully than the solemn and a little cold bust by David (d'Angers)."

Plate 31. *Balzac.* IV, *e.*

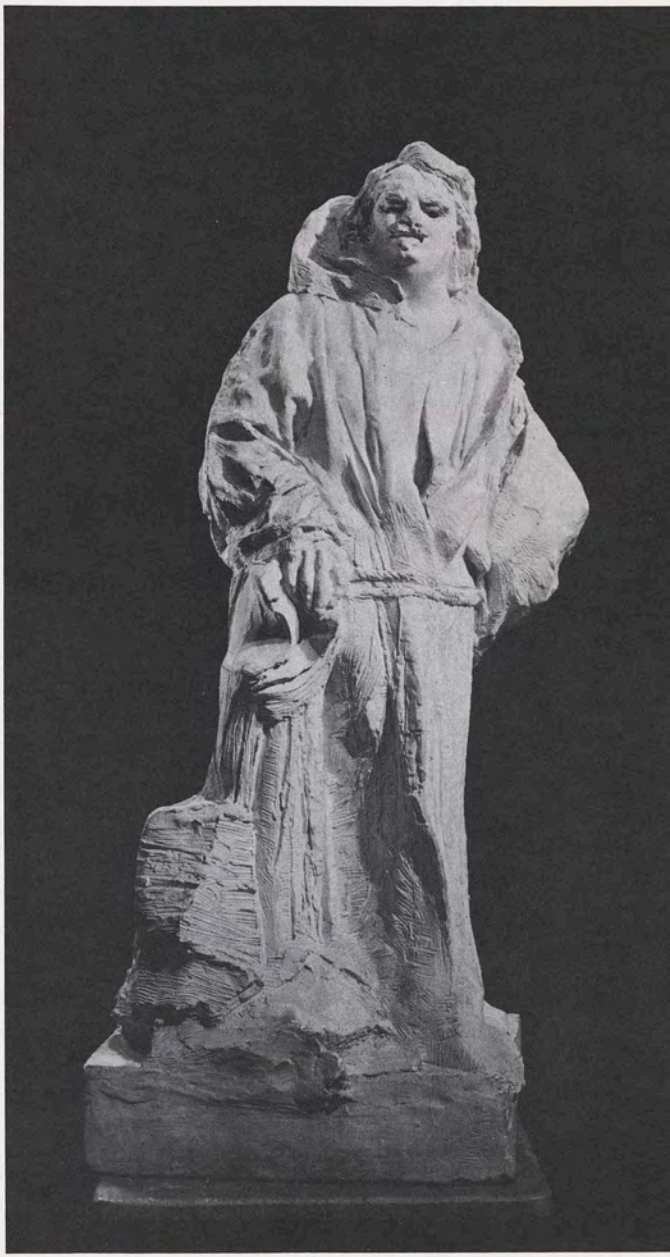


Plate 32. *Balzac.* IV, *f.*
(Archives Photographiques.)

The third group of portraits and figure studies represents Balzac short-haired and at a mature age. Busts K and L[37] were indeed inspired by a daguerreotype of 1842 published in 1891 [Plate 12][38] which Rodin regarded very highly: "I have seen and studied all the possible portraits of the author of the *Comédie Humaine*; after a laborious examination, I decided to take my inspiration from a daguerreotype plate of Balzac, executed in 1842; in my opinion, it is the only faithful likeness and true resemblance of the illustrious writer . . . I have studied this document at great length; today I have captured Balzac, I know him as if I had lived with him for years."[39] Although both C. Goldscheider and J. de Caso accept this daguerreotype as *the* model for heads K and L, I suggest two other possible sources for those heads: a caricature of Balzac by Nadar[40] and the famous portrait by Louis Boulanger of Balzac dressed in the monk's robe with arms crossed on his chest.[41] Busts K and L were used for the well-known nude studies *h* and *i* [Plate 34] representing Balzac as a wrestler, arms crossed over his projecting belly and legs firmly spread apart, supported by an enormous tree-trunk shape merging with his genitals (which perhaps implies the earth-fed creativity of Balzac's genius).[42] Without doubt, this is the nude described by C. Chincholle in 1894: "During the year 1892 . . . the artist conceived a strange Balzac in the attitude of a wrestler, seeming to defy the world. He had placed over very wide-spread legs an enormous belly. More concerned with a perfect resemblance than with the usual conception of Balzac, he had made him shocking, deformed, his head sunk into his shoulders. . . ."[43] Two smaller nudes, one headless, with the sinister arm behind the back and the dexter foot stepping on a mound (*g*) [Plate 33], and a more finished one, with the sinister arm behind the back, dexter arm stretched and legs apart (*gg*) [Plate 33a], are less accomplished in terms of posture and modeling and seem to predate the wrestler-type nudes.

The remaining head studies show Balzac again at a mature age but long-haired. The modeling is becoming more and more arbitrary, with deeply hollowed eyes,

Plate 33. *Balzac.* IV, *g.*

Plate 34. *Balzac.* IV, *i.*
(Archives Photographiques.)

Plate 33a. *Balzac.* IV, *gg.*

Plate 35. *Balzac.* IV, *j*.

Plate 36. *Balzac.* IV, *k*.

Plate 37. Sketch for the definitive nude of *Balzac*. IV, *l*.

exaggerated projections of the eyebrows and moustache, agitated planes and profuse skin roughnesses. These late heads can be divided into two groups: the earlier ones, more representational and humorous (O [Plate 22], P, Q, and R); and the later ones, more arbitrary in the rendering of the features and grotesque in a sublime rather than a caricatural way (T, U, V, W, X, and Y).

Heads P, Q, and R [Plates 23, 23a, and 24] are similar to the heads of the little-known figures *j* [Plate 35] and *k* [Plate 36], which are developments of the athletic nudes *h* and *i*. With arms loosely folded in front of the bulging abdomen and legs so tensely spread apart that they seem planted on the ground, figures *j* and *k*, midway in the development of the monument, are the most majestically grotesque of all the Balzac studies. The monstrous deformity of the body and the engulfing space of the swelling robe (*k*) place these two works among the most astonishing and daring accomplishments of modern sculpture.

The last series of figure studies for the monument, obviously executed after a new model, are all in the definitive posture. Sketch *l* and the headless nude *m* [Plates 37 and 38], with the sinister leg advancing and the hands crossed over the genitals (emphasizing the act of creativity, as A. Elsen rightly has pointed out),[44] start this series. According to M. Morhardt: "It was not until the end of 1897 that the Balzac began to take shape. A sturdy, squat, powerfully muscled model came to pose for Rodin. He posed in the nude, of course. He was standing, the left foot forward by half a step. But this first sketch gave no idea yet of the magnificent raising of the head, of that movement full of proud will. . . ."[45] Although Morhardt (who we must remember relates the story thirty-five years later) seems to imply that nude *m* was done in 1897, I find this hard to believe. There is too great a distance between this nude and the final enlarged *Balzac* which was shown a few months later; and Rodin was not a man to hurry and exhibit the last minute's work. I believe instead that nude *m* was already finished by mid-1896 when a journalist reported: "One or two months ago, M. Rodin

finished a *maquette* which gives him the satisfaction he searched for so untiringly. Balzac will be represented standing, in a simple and powerful attitude, the legs somewhat apart, the arms crossed. He will be dressed in a kind of long robe without belt, which will fall down to his feet."[46]

Other published reports confirm the opinion that by 1897 the basic posture had already been fixed and Rodin was improving the expression of the face and the drapery: "Rodin is working constantly with love, retouching a detail, stressing a feature of the physiognomy, without changing the pose of the thinker who looks with arms crossed, upon the passing human crowd. . . ."[47] "In March [1897], Henri Houssaye [president of the Société] saw the final model for the statue and was reassured that it would definitely be ready for inauguration in October. But in May, Rodin asks for another short delay in order to make retouchings. Finally, the last days of March 1898, the president announces that the work is completed. . . ."[48] "Rodin, as we have said, has finally finished the Balzac monument. The work is beautifully conceived. The powerful novelist is represented standing, hands crossed, and looking at the *Human Comedy* whose main personages parade in front of him. . . . This composition, now in the process of being enlarged, will next be cast in bronze; it is hoped that it will be inaugurated before the end of this year [1897]."[49]

It apparently took Rodin a long time to decide about the nature and arrangement of the drapery, as is proven by the remaining studies and by explicit remarks of witnesses: ". . . we found in one of the studios of the rue de l'Université six examples of the plaster cast that Rodin had had made of the half-size figure that he had just modelled [*m*]. In a corner lay a roll of cloth. This cloth was cut in six approximately equal pieces, and soon each of them was wrapped around one of the models according to Rodin's instructions."[50] Studies *o* and *p* [Plates 40 and 41], one covered with a long drapery leaving naked the left part of the chest, the other covered with an awkward short drapery leaving bare the middle of the chest and the lower

Plate 38. Definitive nude for *Balzac*. IV, *m*.

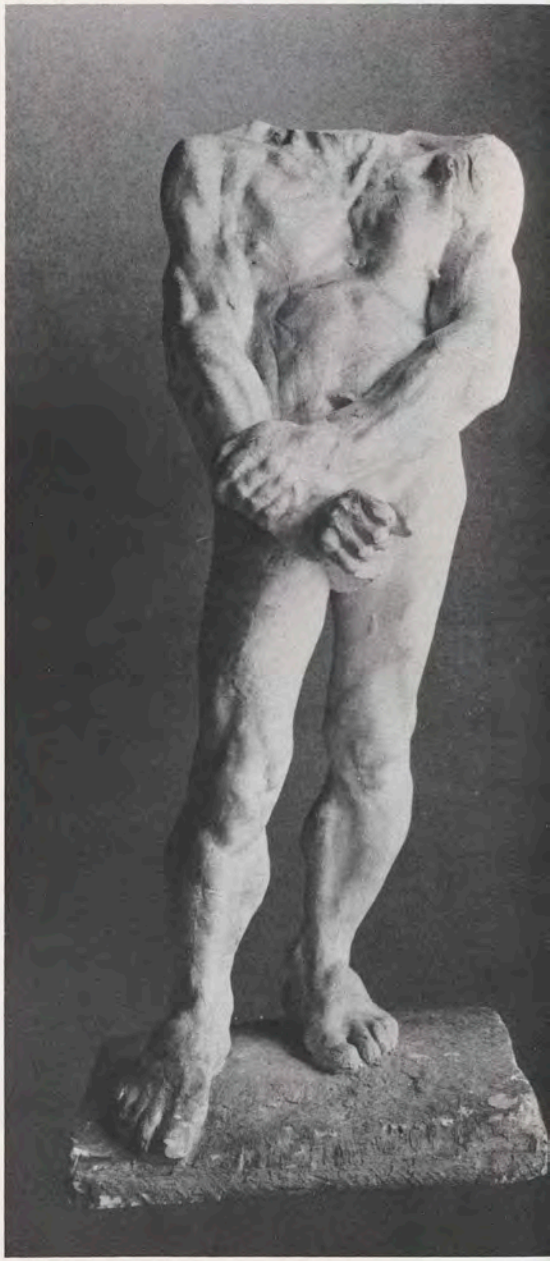


Plate 40. *Balzac.* IV, *o.*

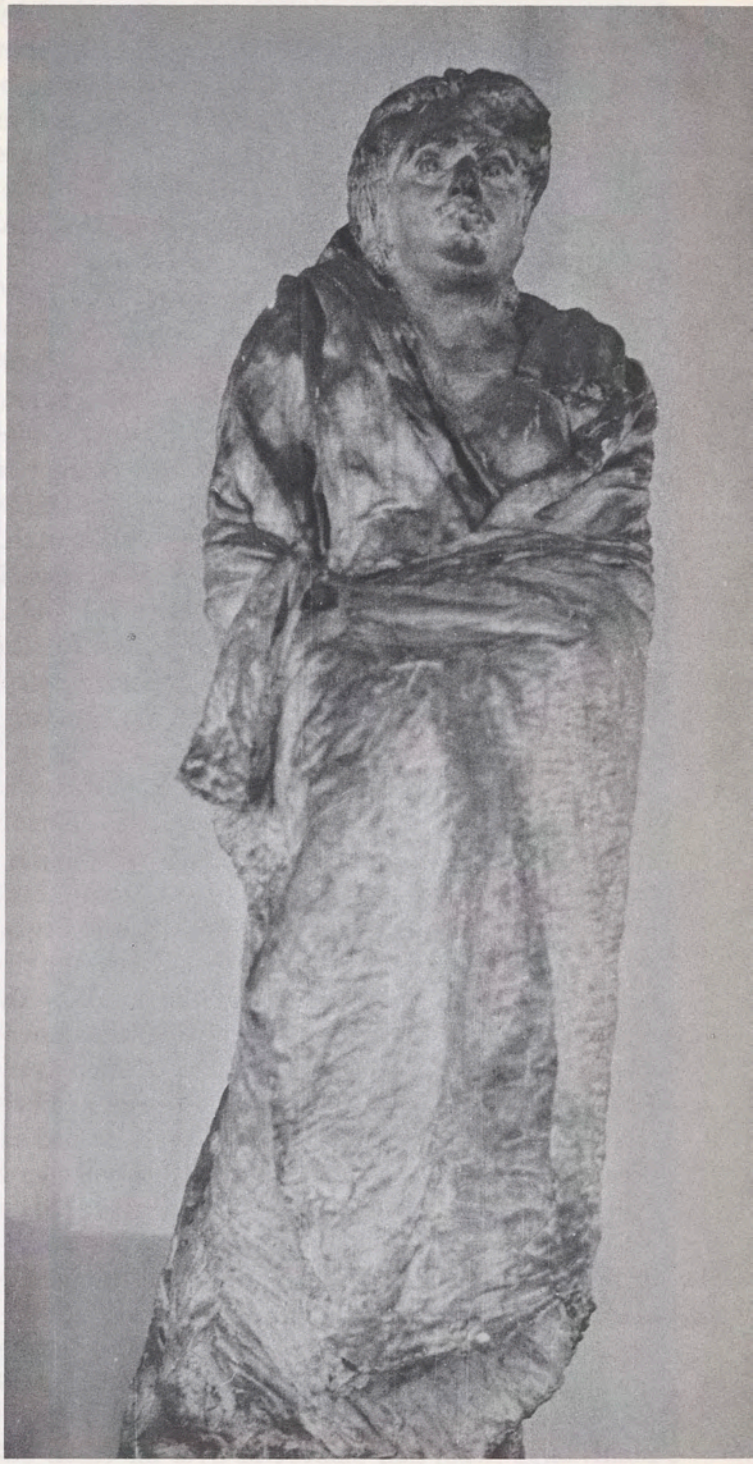


Plate 39. Draped sketch
for the definitive *Balzac.* IV, *n.*

legs, are most likely among the ones described by Morhardt above. A small sketchy plaster head without hair (S) could be related to the head of figure *o*, whereas a variant of head T [Plate 25] was used in figure *p*. Figure *q* [Plate 42] is the last of the mature studies that differs significantly from the final statue: the head is turned to the right instead of the left and the sinister hand emerges, holding the drapery.

All the rest of the head and figure studies (U, V, W, X, and Y, and *r, s, t,* and *u)* are very close to the final *Balzac*. Studies *r* and *s* [Plates 43 and 44] are a sketch and a half-scale model of the robe alone. Heads U and V [Plate 26], very similar to each other, are sketchier than W and X and could be earlier stages of the two latter. W (the Cleveland version) [Plate 27] and X [Plate 28] are very much alike in size as well as in the rendering of the features, except that X is more sentimental in its expression. Figures *t* [Plate 45] and *u* [Plate 45a] are the last preparatory studies for the monument, quite similar to the final version, except that *t* has its head turned more to the left and more agitated drapery.

The scandal produced by the public appearance of the *Balzac* statue [Plate 46] at the Salon de la Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts in May 1898 was the last, but the loudest, of the disputes created around each major work of Rodin. The Société des Gens de Lettres refused to accept the commissioned sculpture, the city of Paris indignantly withdrew its offer to allow the placing of the monument in front of the Palais-Royal, and the press and public ridiculed it most offensively. For Rodin this was a terrible blow from which he never recovered completely. During seven years he had devoted the best of himself to that work and considered it "the resultant of my whole life, the very pivot of my esthetic theory."[51] He not only gave in it the essence of his art, but at the same time captured the personality of a human giant. Rodin's *Balzac* is the best possible plastic equivalent of Lamartine's inspired description of the great novelist: "His exterior was as uncultivated as his genius. He had the figure of an element: large head, hair disheveled over his collar and

Plate 41. *Balzac.* IV, *p.*

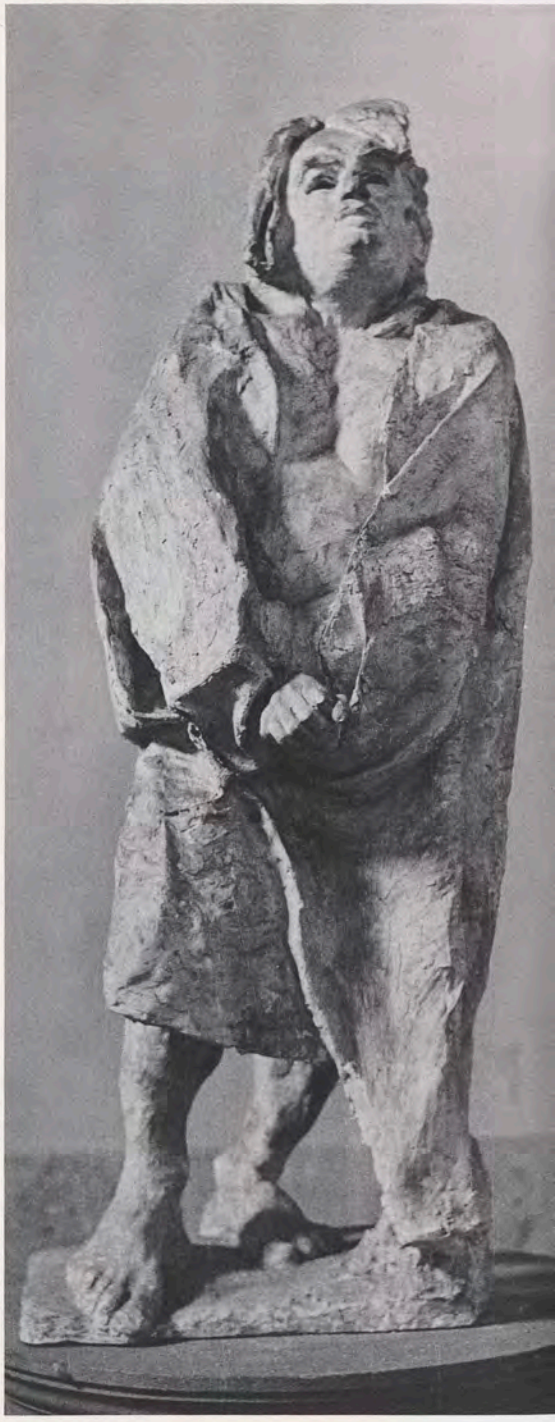


Plate 43. Sketch for *Balzac's robe*. IV, *r*.

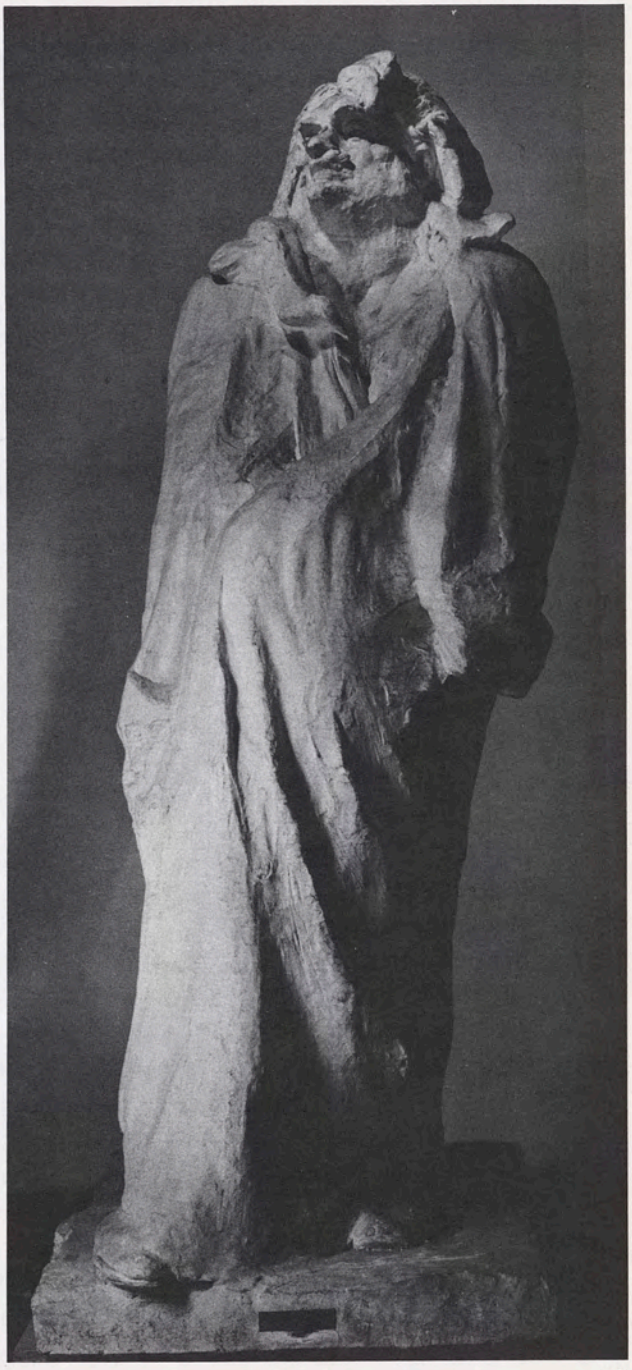
Plate 42. *Balzac*. IV, *q*.

Plate 45. *Balzac.* IV, *t.*

Plate 44. *Balzac's robe.* IV, *s.*

Plate 45a. *Balzac.* IV, *u.*

Plate 46. *Balzac Monument.* IV, final enlarged statue. (Archives Photographiques.)



cheeks like a mane which scissors never clipped, blunt features, thick lips, eyes sweet but full of fire." "He was fat, dense, with square shoulders and stature, with powerful neck, chest, torso, thighs and limbs; much of Mirabeau's amplitude but no heaviness; he possessed so much soul that it carried all that lightly, gaily, like a supple envelope. . . ."[52] But through Balzac's exterior form Rodin also made a statue of The Creator, and perhaps in some ways a self-portrait. During the development of the statue, the sculptor assimilated himself with the writer. Both men had the same cosmogonic genius, the same dedication to their task; both were colossal workers[53]—and wore a similar monk's robe during their working hours! Quite comparable to Balzac's descriptions by Lamartine is what the painter Eugène Carrière said of Rodin: "Rodin offers us that admirable spectacle of a being in full communion with the forces of nature."

The most serious criticism of the *Balzac* was that in this statue Rodin was influenced by the Italian Impressionist sculptor Medardo Rosso. It is true that Rodin, extremely generous in his appreciation of other artists, admired excessively Rosso's work.[54] But the similarity between Balzac's simplified silhouette and Rosso's sketchy figures is only superficial. The latter's sculptures, of intimate scale and subjects, are crystallizations of fugitive impressions from everyday life, whereas Rodin's *Balzac* is as monumental and everlasting as a menhir (in fact Rodin considered having it carved in granite). Moreover, to one who has followed the evolution of the monument it is clear that the final statue grew naturally out of its numerous studies. As for its rough and sensitive modeling, Rodin used that long before he met Rosso, already in the first work that he submitted to the Salon, the famous *Man with the Broken Nose* of 1864. "To me," he once said, "the whole of a head or of a body appears like a fluid mass agitated by a great wind."[55] If Rodin brought out this principle in the *Man with the Broken Nose*, he certainly developed it to its extreme in his *Balzac*. He succeeded in making every square inch of that monolith swell and roll like an ocean full of contained power.

Plate 47. *Séverine.* V.

Plate 48. *Séverine.* V, D.

Plate 49. *Hanako.* VI.

* * *

The second portrait from the 1890's, a few years earlier than the Balzac head, is the *Portrait of Séverine* [V, Plate 47]. Caroline Rémy (1855-1929), known as Séverine, the pseudonym under which she wrote in the newspaper *Le Cri du Peuple,* was a French literary woman who fought for Rodin's recognition. In 1893, the year of publication of her first book and perhaps on the occasion of this event, Rodin made several drawings (Grappe, no. 263) and a modeled little mask of her. I believe, on the basis of resemblance alone, that an unidentified pencil drawing [Plate 48] in the Philadelphia Rodin Museum is also a *Portrait of Séverine.*

* * *

The last Rodin portrait owned by Cleveland is one of the masks of the Japanese actress Ohta Hisa, known as Hanako (1868-1945) [VI, Plate 49], who in 1908 was introduced to Rodin by his friend, the American dancer Löie Fuller. Grappe dates this mask (no. 371), as well as the other three Hanako heads that he lists (nos. 372 [Plate 50], 373 [Plate 52], and 423 [Plate 55]), 1908 or a little later.[56] All the above portraits of the Japanese dancer represent her face in an impassive or wondering mood. Three more masks of Hanako (C, E, and F) [Plates 51, 53, and 54] show her face in different degrees of anguish or furor inspired by the Japanese theater grimaces. It is easy to understand why Rodin thought of using one of Hanako's masks for a portrait of Beethoven which was never executed.[57] The colossal mask E (possibly an advanced stage of the similar masks B and C) could be a study enlarged in view of the Beethoven project.[58]

Plate 50. *Hanako.* VI, A.

[1] As Rose posed for many of Rodin's early works, the number of her portraits has not been defined.

[2] Georges Grappe (no. 14) gives 1845 as the year of birth of Mme Rodin, whereas Judith Cladel's date of 1844 (*Rodin, sa vie glorieuse et inconnue* [8th ed.; Paris, 1936], p. 87, hereafter cited as Cladel, 1936) agrees with the inscription on Rose's tombstone at Meudon.

[3] Cladel, 1936, p. 87.

[4] T. H. Bartlett, "Auguste Rodin, Sculptor," in *Auguste Rodin; Readings on His Life and Work*, ed. A. Elsen (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1965), p. 46 (reprinted from the *American Architect and Building News*, XXV [Jan. 19-June 15, 1889]. The 1965 edition of Bartlett's article will be used for page references throughout this essay.

[5] By mistake Grappe reproduces the bronze mask no. 17 as no. 250.

[6] Although the title of *Alsacienne* was used for that portrait even in Rodin's days, Rose was not Alsacian. As is carved on her tombstone at Meudon, she was born at the village of Vecqueville, near Joinville, in the Haute-Marne, between the Champagne and the Lorraine.

[7] Published in Cladel, 1936, p. 102.

[8] J. Cladel, *Auguste Rodin, l'oeuvre et l'homme* (Brussels, 1908) (see list of Rodin's works according to year of exhibition).

[9] Bartlett, p. 24.

[10] The *Orpheline Alsacienne* is only a foot high (whereas the portrait of Rose called *L'Alsacienne* is 21 in. high) and, moreover, it represents a child or an adolescent girl, which would justify the title "Petite Alsacienne."

Cladel (1936, p. 52) mentions another "petit buste d'Alsacienne," modeled by Rodin while he was selling commercial sculpture in Belgium to earn money. From the fact that Rodin was ashamed of it, it is obvious that this bust cannot be either Mme Rodin's portrait or the *Orpheline Alsacienne*, works that he liked and exhibited later in his career.

[11] Cladel, 1936, p. 226.

[12] The Musée Rodin in Paris owns an oil painting (ca. 16 x 14-1/2 in., signed on bow under neck "A. Rodin") which Grappe (no. 4) identifies as the mother of the artist and dates 1860. Lacking documentation and on the basis of resemblance only, I suggest instead that this painting represents Rose in her thirties or forties.

[13] Grappe (no. 112) gives 1881 as the year of Rodin's first trip to London; Cladel (1936, p. 147) gives 1882 and Bartlett (p. 88) 1880-81.

[14] While Grappe (no. 112) and Cladel (1936, p. 148) date the bust of Henley 1884, Léon Maillard (*Auguste Rodin, statuaire* [Paris, 1899], see chronological list of works) and Cladel (1908, list of works according to date of exhibition) date it 1882, which seems more probable to me.

[15] "Rome, 25 via Gregoriana
Monsieur Knoedler,

Le bronze de M. Henley, que vous venez d'acheter est bien celui que j'avais offert au grand poète Anglais, car il n'en existe

Plate 51. *Hanako*. VI, C.

Plate 53. *Hanako*. VI, E.
(Photo E. Steichen.)

Plate 52. *Hanako*. VI, D.

qu'une autre réplique jusqu'à ce moment, qui est dans l'Eglise Saint Paul à Londres.

Croyez, Monsieur, à l'expression de mes sentiments les meilleurs,

Auguste Rodin"

(A copy of the above letter exists in the Cleveland Museum files.)

According to Cladel (1936, p. 307), Rodin came to Rome towards the end of 1915 for the second (and his last) time to make the portrait of Pope Benedict XV. As Knoedler purchased the Henley bronze in March 1915 (see catalogue entry), Rodin could not have answered Knoedler's inquiry about it during any of his earlier stays in Italy.

[16] Unfortunately, neither cast has a foundry mark.

[17] Bartlett, p. 55. According to Cladel (1936, p. 174), Rodin was introduced to Hugo in 1881.

[18] For reproductions of those projects and the detailed development of the monument see C. Goldscheider, "Rodin et le monument de Victor Hugo," *La Revue des Arts*, no. 3 (1956), pp. 179-184.

[19] Cécile Goldscheider states in the above-mentioned article that Rodin delivered the monument in 1906; but a first-hand witness, Judith Cladel (1936, p. 178), ascertains that it was not until the beginning of 1909 that Rodin decided to eliminate the two muses and to deliver the Hugo figure alone.

[20] The complicated history of the commission for the Balzac monument is documented in detail by J. de Caso, "Rodin and the Cult of Balzac," *Burlington Magazine*, June 1964, pp. 279-284.

[21] "Rodin has read and re-read not only all the works of Balzac, but also . . . all that has been written about Balzac: Mme Surville, Gozlan, Werdet, Gautier, Lamartine, d'Aurevilly, Bourget, Lovenjoul, Cerfberr, Christophe, Paul Flat and so many others. . . ." G. Geffroy, "L'Imaginaire," *Le Figaro*. Aug. 29, 1893.

[22] Over a hundred portraits of Balzac were made during his lifetime, as listed in J. Lethève, "Les Portraits de Balzac. Essai de répertoire iconographique," *L'Année balzacienne* (Paris, 1963), pp. 361-390, and in J. A. Ducourneau, ed., *Album Balzac* (Paris, 1962) (hereafter quoted as *Album*). Rodin probably had access to a number of them indicated in C. Goldscheider, "La Genèse d'une oeuvre: Le Balzac de Rodin," *La Revue des Arts*, no. 1 (1952), pp. 37-44 and in the already-cited *Balzac* catalogue.

[23] Goldscheider, p. 40, c. 1.

[24] "I am making as many models as possible for the construction of the head with types in the country; and, with the abundant information I have secured and am still procuring, I have good hope of the Balzac." From a letter of Rodin to X, dated Sept. 6, 1891, quoted in F. Lawton, *The Life and Works of Rodin* (London, 1906), p. 205.

[25] Lethève, no. 47; ill. in *Album*, p. 30.

[26] Lethève, no. 21; ill. in *Album*, p. 73.

[27] Lethève, no. 63; ill. in *Album*, p. 240.

[28] I have not been able to see head G either in reproduction or in reality; therefore I left it in the order of the *Balzac* catalogue.

[29] Lethève, no. 10a; ill. *Album*, p. 191.

[30] Lethève, no. 78; ill. in C. Goldscheider, "La Genèse d'une oeuvre: Le Balzac de Rodin," *La Revue des Arts*, no. 1 (1952), p. 39.

[31] Two drawings, published by J. de Caso, "Balzac and Rodin in Rhode Island," *Bulletin of Rhode Island School of Design*, May 1966, p. 13, pls. 6 and 7, from a sketchbook in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, seem to be related to these clay sketches rather than to nude gg [Plate 33a].

[32] Cladel, 1936, p. 187.

[33] "La Statue de Balzac," *Le Monde Moderne*, 1899, pp. 649-650.

[34] Lethève, no. 57e; ill. in *Album*, p. 209.

[35] "Balzac et Rodin," *Le Voltaire*, Feb. 23, 1892.

[36] *Balzac on His Death Bed*, 1850; Lethève, no. 64; ill. in *Album*, p. 321.

[37] Head N I have not seen; therefore I kept it in the order of the *Balzac* catalogue. In *Life*, May 9, 1955, p. 21 (above) is reproduced a study for the Balzac head in a meditative position [Plate 21], which could be head N (or head G?).

[38] Lethève, no. 119.

[39] Quoted by G. Ferry, "La Statue de Balzac," *Le Monde Moderne*, 1899, p. 653, c. 1.

[40] Lethève, no. 90b; ill. in *Album*, p. 312.

[41] Lethève, no. 20; ill. in *Album*, p. 172.

[42] I disagree with Jacques de Caso (*Bulletin of Rhode Island School of Design*, May 1966, p. 19, n. 36) that this support was necessary for the weight of the clay model. Such supports, made of metal rods, are usually left uncovered and are omitted in the plaster casts (cf. figure *j* [Plate 35] of similar position and size). Also, it seems to me that the imposing form of the support and the carefully studied voids between it and the legs imply that Rodin had not planned to remove it. Therefore the existence of this support would not solve the problem (as Mr. Caso tried to suggest) whether the smaller version of the wrestler nude (*h*) is the original for nude *i* or its reduction.

[43] "Balzac et Rodin," *Le Figaro*, Nov. 25, 1894.

Chincholle's testimony is confirmed by Séverine's description in *Le Journal*, Nov. 27, 1894: "Une fois, chez le maître-sculpteur dont s'enorgueillit l'art français—et que la postérité mettra au rang des plus illustres—je dénichai derrière un paravent, dans l'angle, un 'bonhomme' en glaise, furieusement martelé de coups de pouce, et campé de si glorieuse manière que mon admiration tomba en arrêt.

"A cela près, il était fort vilain, la peau comme excoriée, le masque à peine indiqué—tout nu, l'horreur! Mais les bras se croisant de telle sorte sur les pectoraux puissants; mais l'espacement des jambes, dans le sens de la marche, l'avancée conquérante du pas, indiquaient si magnifiquement la prise de possession du sol, les pieds comme soudés de racines à la terre natale; mais de cette face informe, trouée d'orbites, au rictus pareil à une balafre, le nez en 'chose' d'oiseau, les maxillaires anthropophagesques, le front bossué sous l'hirsutisme d'une tignasse d'oseraie, une telle souveraineté se dégageait, impérieuse, quasi-surhumaine, que l'austère frisson, connu des intellectuels, vous passait sur la nuque . . . 'C'est mon Balzac,' dit doucement

Plate 54. *Hanako*. VI, F.
(Photo E. Steichen.)

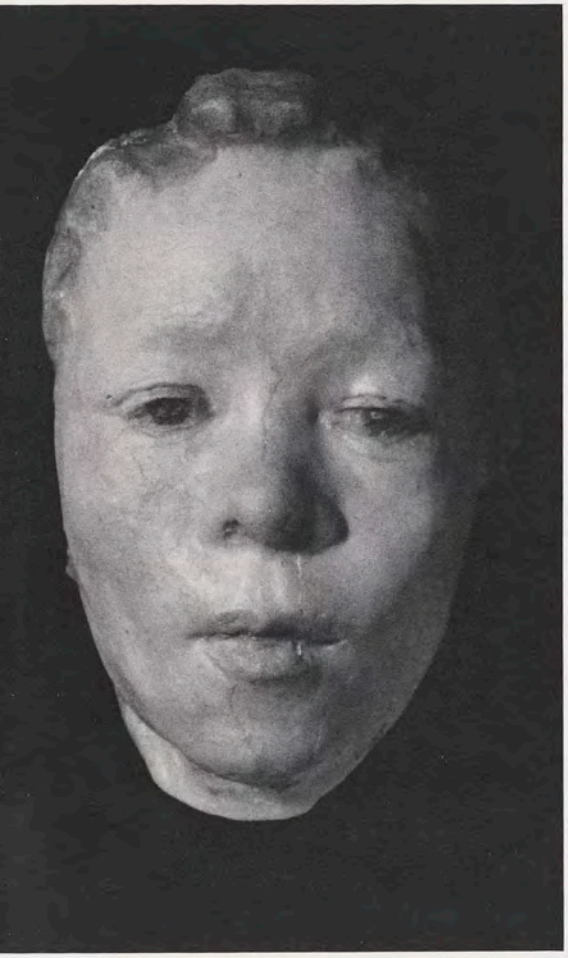


Plate 55. *Hanako*. VI, G.

Rodin. Puis, avec une timidité dans la voix, se reprenait: 'Je veux dire la maquette—une des maquettes qui me serviront.' "

[44] A. Elsen, *Rodin* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1963), p. 96; hereafter quoted as Elsen, 1963.

[45] M. Morhardt, "La Bataille du Balzac," *Le Mercure de France*, Dec. 15, 1934, p. 467.

[46] *Le Temps*, Aug. 19, 1896. (This quotation was kindly given to me by A. E. Elsen.)

[47] "Petite Chronique," *L'Art moderne*, July 25, 1897.

[48] Cladel, 1963, p. 201.

[49] *Le Journal*, April 17, 1897. (Quotation kindly given to me by A. E. Elsen.)

[50] Morhardt, p. 467.

[51] ". . . la résultante de toute ma vie, le pivot même de mon esthétique." In Cladel, 1936, p. 208.

[52] "Son extérieur était aussi inculte que son génie. C'était la figure d'un élément: grosse tête, cheveux épars, sur son collet et sur ses joues comme une crinière que le ciseau n'émondait jamais, traits obtus, lèvres épaisses, oeil doux mais de flamme." "Il était gros, épais, carré par la base et les epaules; le cou, la poitrine, le corps, les cuisses, les membres puissants; beaucoup de l'ampleur de Mirabeau, mais nulle lourdeur; il y avait tant d'âme qu'elle portait tout cela légèrement, gaiement, comme une enveloppe souple . . ." *Cours familier de littérature*, entretien X (Paris, 1856), II, 297; entretien CVI (1864), XVIII, 282-283.

[53] "Je pense à son labeur acharné, aux difficultés de sa vie, à la bataille incessante qu'il a dû livrer, à son beau courage. Je voudrais exprimer tout cela," wrote Rodin to J. Aicard (quoted in Cladel, 1936, p. 193).

A. E. Elsen in his article "Rodin's 'Naked Balzac': The Body as a Metaphor," to appear in the *Burlington Magazine*, discusses in a most illuminating way the numerous similarities between Balzac and Rodin.

[54] See M. Scolari Barr, *Medardo Rosso* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1963), pp. 43ff.

[55] "A moi, l'ensemble d'une tête ou d'un corps m'apparaît comme une masse fluide qu'agite un grand souffle." J. Cladel, *Auguste Rodin pris sur la vie* (Paris, 1903), p. 40.

[56] According to Cladel, 1936, p. 17, Hanako left Paris for London in 1914.

[57] See Grappe, no. 372, and Cladel, 1936, pp. 15-16.

[58] D. Keene in his article "Hanako," *This Is Japan* (Tokyo, 1962), where he gives a thorough account to Hanako's career and personality, mentions that Rodin also made a nude study of the Japanese actress, which is unknown to me.

Plate 56. *The Age of Bronze*. VII.

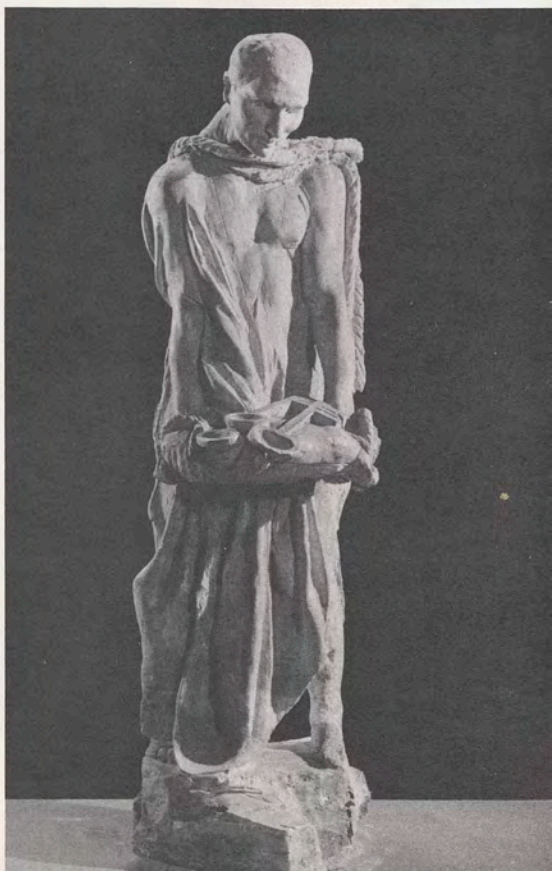
The Monumental Figures

The Age of Bronze [VII, Plate 56] is the earliest major work of Rodin that has been preserved, and through the controversies that it has caused, one of his most famous pieces. He started it when he was thirty-five years old. After twenty years of studying the living model, he felt ambitious and mature enough to revise and condense all his experience in a perfect rendering of the nude. He was, however, modest enough to remain close to nature, to a strictly lifesize sculpture without rhetorical attitude or subject, to a normal, earthbound male body. Living in Belgium at the time, he chose for a model a Belgian soldier, Auguste Neyt, from the barracks in his neighborhood. He required him to raise his arms, so that the contours of the torso and legs would show their full beauty; but he allowed him to rest the left arm on a stick, to make the long hours of posing more relaxing.[1]

After a few months of work on this nude, Rodin felt that the time had come for him to visit Italy and study at first hand the art of Michelangelo, with whom he felt a natural affinity. He left Brussels at the end of 1875[2] and stayed in Italy about two months, spending one week in front of the Medici tombs alone. Upon return, he worked for almost a year on his nude and finished it in plaster in December 1876.[3] It was exhibited for the first time in January 1877, at the Circle Artistique in Brussels, under the title *The Vanquished*, and a few months later at the Paris Salon (cat. no. 4107), under the title *L'Age d'Airain*. In both places, but especially in Paris, committees and art critics claimed that the work had been cast after the living

Plate 57.
First sketch for
The Burghers of Calais.
Plaster, H. 13-1/2 inches,
1884. Musée Rodin, Meudon.

Plate 59.
Model for *Jean d'Aire.*
VIII, *a.*
(Archives Photographiques.)



model and it is well known what worries and ultimately what fame these criticisms brought to Rodin. The figure was not finished in bronze until 1880, but was reissued later in numerous casts. A particularly beautiful cast, made before Rodin's death, belongs to the Cleveland Museum.

* * *

In 1884 the town of Calais started raising funds for a monument in honor of the six burghers who in 1347, during the Hundred Years' War, had offered themselves as hostages to King Edward III of England in order to save from sack the long-besieged town of Calais. Through the intervention of friends, Rodin was approached by the mayor of Calais and in November 1884 he submitted to him a first sketch for the monument [Plate 57]. On the basis of this sketch he received the commission and signed the contract in January 1885.[4]

Although the town had planned to erect a monument with only one figure, the leading burgher, Rodin convinced them to accept six figures for the same

Plate 58. *The Burghers of Calais*. VIII, over-lifesize bronze casts #8.

price. A realist in the fullest sense, he wanted to create a group rendering the event as it happened and as it is related by the chroniclers of the time, instead of a conventional monument with allegories. The passage in Froissart's chronicle (Rodin's main source of inspiration), describing the response of those six burghers to the conditions of King Edward and their departure from town, reads as follows:

"When Sir Eustache de St. Pierre had spoken these words, some knelt heartbroken before him and many men and women cast themselves at his feet weeping with compassion; it was very pitiful to be present, to hear and see them.

"Secondly, another very respected and wealthy burgher who had two beautiful young daughters, rose and spoke in the same way saying that he would join his companion, Sir Eustache de St. Pierre. And his name was Jean d'Aire.

"Then rose a third burgher called Jacques de Wiessant, a man very rich in merchandise and lands, who said that he would accompany his two cousins. So did his brother, Pierre de Wiessant, and then a fifth and a sixth. These six burghers, there in the market place of Calais, removed all their garments except for their shirts and breeches, and put ropes around their necks as had been ordered. They took the keys of the town and the castle, each holding a handful of them.

"When they were so prepared, Sir Jean de Vienne mounted a small hackney, for he could hardly walk, and led the way towards the gate."[5]

This is the moment that Rodin chose to represent: the marching of the burghers towards the camp of the English army, each enveloped in his own thoughts and reacting to sacrifice and death in his own way. A realist not only in the representation of his subject but also in his method of working, Rodin studied each figure first in the nude. There exist nude studies one-third the final size [Plate 63] as well as full-size [Plate 60] for most of the burghers; and there exist one-third the final size draped studies that Rodin submitted to the Calais committee in July 1885 [Plates 59 and 64]. He also did separate studies for the heads and hands of

Plate 61. Reduction of *Jean d'Aire*. VIII.

Plate 60. Nude for *Jean d'Aire*. VIII, *b*.

Plate 62. Colossal
Head of Pierre de Wiessant. IX.

Plate 62a. *Pierre de Wiessant.* IX, plaster casts #1.

the burghers. The beautiful, poignant *Head of Pierre de Wiessant* exists as an individual piece in three sizes: three inches high, life-size and colossal (H. 32-1/4 in.). Cleveland owns both a plaster and a bronze cast of the latter [IX, Plates 62 and 62a]. The head of Jean d'Aire also was made in several sizes, in terra cotta, plaster, and bronze. It has been said that the son of Rodin, Auguste Beuret, posed for that meditative but decisive face.[6]

Finally, there exist reductions of the figures of the burghers eighteen inches high and Cleveland owns a bronze of one of them, the *Jean d'Aire* [VIII, Plate 61]. From the full-size nude and the draped study one-third the final size, both reproduced here [Plates 60 and 59], one can see that this figure remained basically the same, legs firmly spread apart and arms outstretched, holding the keys of the town. However, in the final version the head stands proudly up instead of bending submissively; the drapery covers the whole body, falling down in long vertical folds; and the keys have been changed into one gigantic key, as swollen in size as the expressive hands and feet of the burghers. Jean d'Aire is the most monumental figure of the group, not only because he is the most restrained in gesture, but mainly because of the magnificent cascading drapery, an element that Rodin—the sculptor of the nude—for once used extensively in this work. It seems that later in his life, possibly influenced by the generation which discovered archaic sculpture and developed a horror of projections and hollows (e.g. Bourdelle), Rodin regretted the ragged surfaces and dramatic shadows of his *Burghers*. He told Judith Cladel that he wished he had dared to clothe them with sackcloth instead of shirts: "... The sackcloth is more beautiful; it would have simplified the planes and the whole would have gained in unity.... But I did not have the courage."[7]

Already in 1885 Rodin exhibited one of the burghers in Brussels[8] and by 1886 the whole group was finished, although it was not exhibited in its entirety before 1889, at the Monet-Rodin exhibition at the Galerie George Petit in Paris (cat. no. 1, *"Groupe de bourgeois de Calais*—ils partent de la place du Marché"). But the

monument was cast in bronze and installed only in 1895, because of lack of funds and disagreements about the installation. Rodin had different ideas on the grouping of the figures and the height of the base. He wanted them placed either on a high pedestal, viewed against the sky like old Breton or Flemish calvaries, or on ground level, like the Pietàs in churches, so that "the public would penetrate the heart of the subject."[9] They would be walking "one behind the other on the stones of the Place, before the Town Hall of Calais, like a living chaplet of suffering and sacrifice," so that "the people of Calais of today, almost elbowing them, would have felt more deeply the tradition of solidarity which unites them to these heroes." [10]

Instead, the committee obliged the sculptor to group the six figures close together [Plate 58], an arrangement that he studied for five months and insisted on keeping rectangular (not the traditional pyramidal). The monument was raised on a medium-height pedestal in front of the public gardens in the Place Richelieu. Only after the sculptor's death, in the mid-twenties, was it finally moved to the Place d'Armes, in front of the Town Hall, and put on a low pedestal.[11]

Plate 63. Small nude for *Pierre de Wiessant.* IX, B.

[1] The stick, or rather a broken spear, is shown in an ink drawing of the *Age of Bronze* made by Rodin in 1876 or 1877 (see catalogue).

[2] I believe Albert Elsen is wrong in stating (1963, p. 207) that Rodin went to Italy in the winter of 1874-1875 and started the *Age of Bronze* upon his return. Bartlett (p. 31) makes it clear that he had started the work before leaving, and in several letters written from Italy to Rose (quoted in Cladel, 1936, pp. 111, 113, 114) Rodin repeats that she should take proper care of "his figure," obviously the only large figure on which he was working at the time, the *Age of Bronze.*

[3] Rodin made the *Age of Bronze* directly in lifesize. The smaller versions of it (H. 26 in. and H. 38 in.) are reductions made later when the work became popular (e.g., Cladel, 1936, p. 256, mentions that a reduction of the *Age of Bronze* was given to Léon Bourgeois).

[4] For these dates see the letters of Rodin to the mayor of Calais (in microfilm at the Museum of Modern Art Library, New York).

[5] "Quant sires Ustasses de Saint Pière eut dit ceste parole, cescuns l'ala aourer de pité, et pluiseurs hommes et femmes se jettoient à ses piés tenrement plorant; c'estoit grans pités dou là estre, yaus oïr et regarder.

Plate 64. Model for *Pierre de Wiessant.*
IX, C. (Archives Photographiques.)

"Secondement, uns aultres très honnestes bourgois et de grant afaire, et qui avoit deux belles damoiselles à filles, se leva et dist tout ensi, et qu'il feroit compagnie à son compère sire Ustasse de Saint Pière; on appelloit cesti, sire Jehan d'Aire.

"Apriès se leva li tiers, qui s'appelloit sire Jakemes de Wissant, qui estoit riches homs de meuble et d'iretage, et dist que il feroit à ses deux cousins compagnie. Ensi fist sire Pières de Wissant ses frères, et puis li cinquimez et li siximez. Et se desvestirent là cil six bourgois tout nu, en pur leur braies et leurs chemises, en le hale de Calais, et misent hars en leurs colz, ensi que ordenance se portoit. Et prisent les clés de le ville de Calais et dou chastiel; cescuns des six en tenoit une puignie.

"Quant il furent ensi apparilliet, messires Jehans de Viane, montés sus une petite haghenée, car à grant malaise pooit il aler à piet, se mist devant et prist le chemin de le porte."
Chroniques de Jean Froissart, S. Luce ed. (Paris: J. Renouard, 1873), vol. IV, ch. LXVI, sec. 312, p. 59.
I am indebted to Professor Lawrence A. Wilson of Oberlin College for advising me on this translation from medieval French.

[6] Cladel, 1936, p. 159.

[7] ". . . Le sac est plus beau, il aurait simplifié les plans et l'ensemble y aurait gagné en unité . . . Je n'ai pas osé." *Ibid.*, p. 166. According to Maillard, p. 143, Rodin did clothe one of the Burghers in sackcloth, but did not dare transfer this experiment to the definitive monument.

[8] Cladel, 1936, p. 161.

[9] Rodin, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 163.

[10] P. Gsell, *Art by Auguste Rodin* (Boston, 1912), pp. 88-89. The above quotations are confirmed by a letter of Rodin to the mayor of Calais, written in a more awkward style:

"Cependant j'avais pensé primitivement que les bourgeois quittant la place du marché, dans la confusion des adieux, seul de St Pierre (Etienne) [sic] commençant à marcher pour couper court à cette scène pénible; j'avais pensé que placé très bas le groupe devenait plus familier et faisait entrer le public mieux dans l'aspect de la misére et du sacrifice, du drame dis-je.

". . . l'avoir très bas pour laisser au public pénétrer le coeur du sujet, comme dans les mises au tombeau d'églises, ou le groupe est presque par terre."
(December 8, 1893—microfilm at the Museum of Modern Art Library, New York.)

[11] The English government, which bought in 1913 a cast of the burghers, consulted Rodin himself about its location and the group was placed in the public gardens of the Houses of Parliament, but again on a medium-height base.

Works Deriving from The Gates of Hell

In August 1880 the Fine Arts Committee of the Ministry of Education commissioned from Rodin a door for the projected Museum of Decorative Arts in Paris. The panels of the door were supposed to be decorated with bronze reliefs and Rodin chose as their subject Dante's *Inferno*, which had become very popular in the nineteenth century.[1] He said that he wanted to make a composition with many small figures to prove that he did not cast his sculptures from the living model. But the deeper reason for that choice is brought out by E. Rod, writing in 1898:

"... It is the desire to study movement that first pushed M. Rodin to undertake a large composition containing numerous and varied motifs. *Hell*, the only one of the three *cantiche* of the *Divine Comedy* that he knew then and still knows today, seemed to respond to his artistic desire. For there are in this majestic dream of the greatest modern poet all attitudes, all passions, all pains, in a word all movements."[2]

By 1881 Rodin had already decided upon the format and the size of the *Gates* (ca. 17 feet high without the *Three Shadows*); in 1882 he erected their full-scale frame;[3] and by 1885 he had executed hundreds of small figures with which he experimented, placing them on the panels in different ways. In his last letter to the Fine Arts Committee, dated July 2, 1885, he wrote: "I have the honor to inform you that the model in plaster will be finished in about six months."[4] Indeed in 1886 the *Gates of Hell*, almost complete, were on view in his studio,[5] and the same year Rodin exhibited a number of small plaster figures from the doors at the Fifth

Plate 65. *The Gates of Hell.* X, bronze casts #2.

International Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture, at the Galerie Georges Petit in Paris.[6]

However, Rodin never really finished the *Gates* [Plate 65], although he changed them little after the 1880's.[7] He put into them over thirty-five years of effort and thought; he overcharged them with figures and fragments of figures—crowds swirling in a chaotic space, contorted from pain and eaten by passions. Almost 190 nudes of all sizes and in all degrees of relief stem out from a surface of about the same number of square feet. Rodin renewed the art of relief by obliterating its traditional categories (low-relief, high-relief), as well as by liberating it from its spatial boundaries: the Renaissance perspective and the frame containing the composition. The figures on the *Gates* explode in all directions, some unexpectedly swell or shrink (diminution in size does not indicate recession in depth), some climb between the panels and the lintel, or spread outside the posts.[8]

Although Rodin started with a subject and with the primary intention to study movement, already in the late 1880's he had changed his aim. "My sole idea is simply one of color and effect," he told Bartlett in 1887 or 1888. "There is no intention of classification or method of subject, no scheme of illustration or intended moral purpose. I followed my imagination, my own sense of arrangement, movement and composition."[9] But after exhausting the vocabulary of movements of the human body, and then giving primacy to the composition of light and shadow, Rodin again changed ideas about the *Gates* as years went by and his style developed. Under the influence of younger artists (Bourdelle primarily), he decided that the surface of the doors was too agitated, too full of holes and projections. Thus in 1900, at his large retrospective exhibition, he exhibited the door naked, with all of its most projecting figures and groups wholly or partly cut off [Plate 66]. "But it is not finished that way!" exclaimed the visitors confounded by this most daring act. "And the cathedrals, are they finished?" replied Rodin.[10] He is indeed the first artist to have adopted the concept of the "unfinished" as conceived by the

Plate 66. *The Gates of Hell* as exhibited in 1900. Plaster. Musée Rodin, Meudon.

Plate 67. *The Gates of Hell* (detail). Bronze, H. 242-1/2 inches, 1880-1917. Musée Rodin, Paris.

modern sensitivity: not simply the non-finished but the non-finishable, the non-definitive. "There is no finish possible in a work of Art," he said, "since it is Nature, and Nature knows no finish, being infinite; therefore one stops at some stage or other, when one has put into one's work all one sees, all one has sought for, all one cares to put, or all one particularly wants; but one could really go on forever and see more to do."[11]

The door is the most telling example of Rodin's "non-finishable" works. It bears the marks of two thirds of his career, as well as the marks of its own physical life. This aging is most visible on its frame, a mixture of Renaissance forms and Gothic molding which is really of neither style. It is a ruin of hallucinating eclecticism with almost surrealistic overtones. The overabundance of often asymmetrical decorative motifs (e.g., the series of masks on the rim of the lintel above the tympanum, the banderoles on top of the posts, the thorny vines over the tympanum, etc.) contrasts with the deliberate destruction of parts of the decoration (cut-off moldings on the inside of the posts,[12] on the frame of the panels, and on the trumeau; chipped-off rim of lintel over the tympanum, etc.). Certainly after the first decade Rodin neglected the functional aspect of the door while he did not hesitate to destroy parts of it. He probably also preserved accidental damages or additions (such as the cast pieces of rope behind the right post [Plate 67]).[13] There is no doubt that he wanted the *Gates* to be a ruin and that he is the first artist before the Dadaists to revere and welcome in his art chance and accident. "More beautiful than a beautiful thing is the ruin of a beautiful thing," he used to say. And again: "Chance is a great artist."[14]

* * *

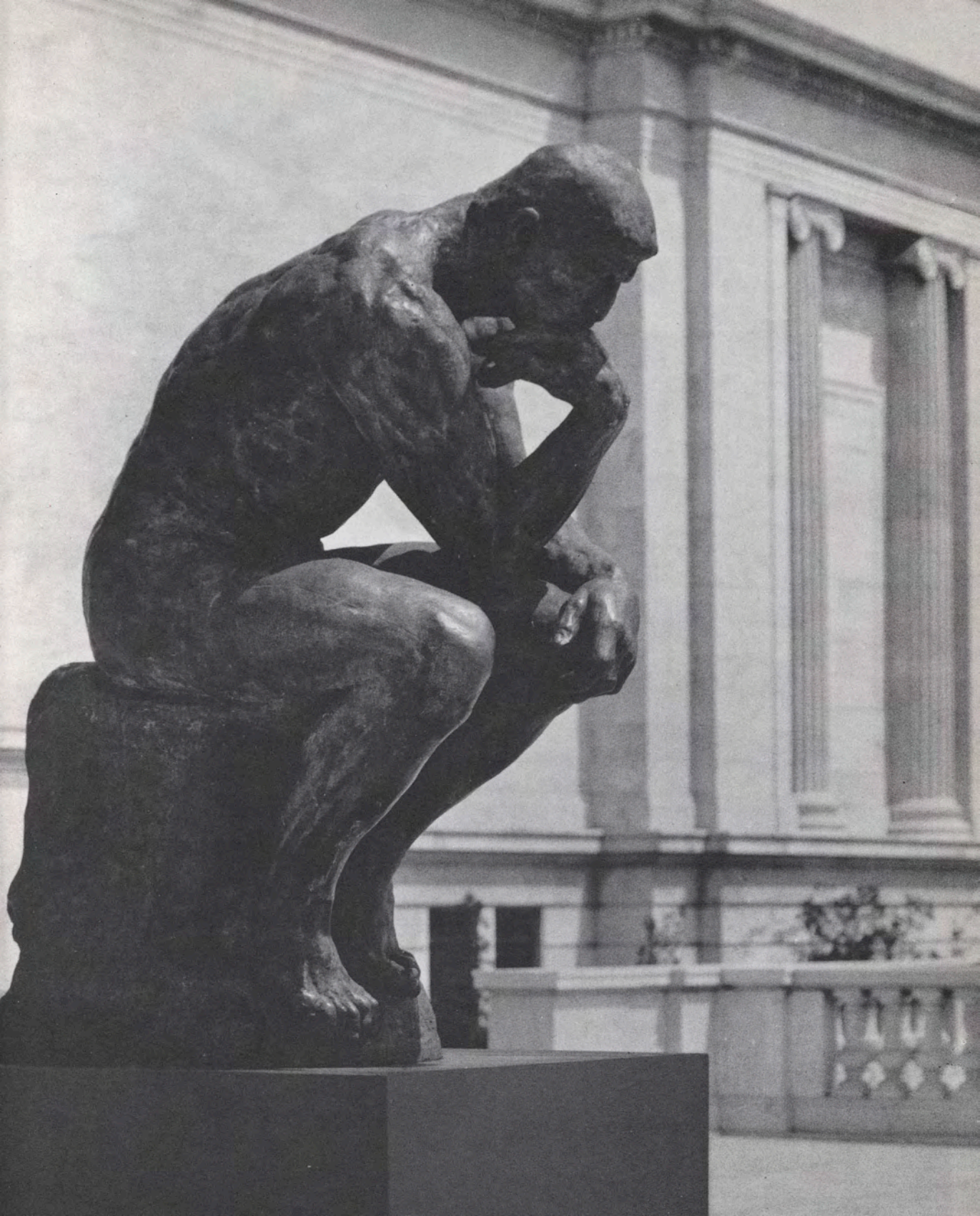
If the *Gates of Hell* were never finished, they nonetheless served as an inexhaustible supply of subjects for Rodin's other sculpture. He isolated and often enlarged the majority of the figures and groups from the door. Cleveland owns several of these works, among which is the center piece of the tympanum, the famous

Thinker [X, Plate 68]. As one can see in the preparatory sketches for the *Gates*,[15] Rodin considered the idea of placing a large figure on the trumeau, like the ones on the portals of medieval cathedrals. But instead of a holy figure, the Virgin, Christ, or a saint, Rodin planned to represent there Eve, mother of mankind and the origin of sin—therefore of hell. Later he decided to put free-standing colossal figures of Eve and Adam one on each side of the door (a project never realized), and another central figure was thus placed in the tympanum. It was initially supposed to represent the poet, Dante, contemplating the crowds of damned below him, but it soon became known as *The Thinker*.[16] The souls to be judged, smaller in scale than the seated poet but larger than the figures on the panels, fill the rest of the tympanum. So *The Thinker* is the Judge, in the context of the *Gates* as well as metaphorically by taking the place of the Christ of the Last Judgment on the medieval tympana.

Moreover, as in Rodin's plans *The Thinker* ultimately replaced Eve, the Judge coincides with the origin of human suffering, because for Rodin, the knowledge of good and evil, i.e. thought, or the consciousness of the miserable passion-bound human fate, is the origin of endless suffering—of hell. The human soul is creating its own hell by knowing its weaknesses and its futility without being able to escape them. Rodin's hell is, therefore, man-made and thus much more poignant to modern sensitivity than any of the terrifying conceptions of medieval imagination, be it as grandiose as Dante's.

The Thinker must be one of the first figures that Rodin made for the *Gates* in the beginning of the 1880's.[17] Its powerful musculature and its *contrapposto* position come directly from Michelangelo, the main influence on Rodin's work at that time.[18] But unlike Michelangelo in his "Pensieroso," Rodin has expressed thought not only through the meditative attitude of the body but through the effort of every muscle. As the sculptor himself said: "What makes my *Thinker* think is that he thinks not only with his brain, with his knitted brow, his distended nostrils and com-

Plate 68. *The Thinker*. X.



pressed lips, but with every muscle of his arms, back and legs, with his clenched fist and gripping toes."[19] It is indeed one of Rodin's great contributions to have expressed the agitations of the human soul through the pulsating skin and muscles of the body.

In 1904 *The Thinker*, enlarged to over-lifesize, was exhibited at the Salon de la Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts (cat. no. 2079) and in 1906 it was placed on a column in front of the Paris Pantheon (until 1922 when it was moved to the Musée Rodin). Since then this sculpture has become one of Rodin's most popular works and is seen in front of many museums and universities. It is often exhibited too low for its massive, downbending torso: one should not forget that the original small model was meant to be seen at the top of the *Gates*, at a height of thirteen feet.

* * *

Another work which plays a very important, although discrete, role in the *Gates* is the *Head of the Little Martyr* [XI, Plate 69], a fragment of the figure known as *The Martyr* or *Christian Martyr* which was later enlarged to lifesize (Grappe, nos. 146-148). This face must have fascinated Rodin, since he used it at least ten times in the tympanum and the panels of the door. It can be detected in the left part of the tympanum on the figure standing to the right of the kneeling woman with raised elbows, as well as on both figures floating above the same kneeling woman. It can also be seen on the woman lying over the frame at the top right corner of the tympanum, and by itself at the right bottom back of the tympanum. It finally appears two or three times among the masks on the rim of the lintel above the tympanum, to the left of the *Thinker*. On the panels, it has been used on the figure in the lower left of the right panel (above the falling couple) and on the falling winged figure holding a wheel at the lower left corner of the left panel, as well as on the woman who is hidden under the right wing of this figure. Is this repetition an allusion to the impersonality of the suffering human being, or a musical reappearance of a motif within a composition?

Plate 69. *Head of the Little Martyr*. XI.

Plate 70. *The Fall of Icarus.* XI, A.

The whole figure of the *Little Martyr* with wings added and falling sideways (instead of lying on its back) constitutes a new work, *The Fall of Icarus* [Plate 70], comparable to another falling winged figure called *Icaresse* or *Illusion, Daughter of Icarus,* or also *The Fall of Icarus* (see p. 73). The same winged Martyr enlarged in marble and placed vertically became the *Broken Lily* [Plate 71] of the Sourisseau tomb of 1909 at the St. Acheul cemetery, in accordance with the will of the young man who had wanted to be accompanied in death by the great sculptor's work.[20] The figure of the *Martyr,* with the arms and sinister leg moved forward, was also used by Rodin in the group called *Orpheus and Euridice* [Plate 72], which exists in marble at the Metropolitan Museum in New York.[21]

* * *

Plate 71. *Broken Lily*. XI, B.

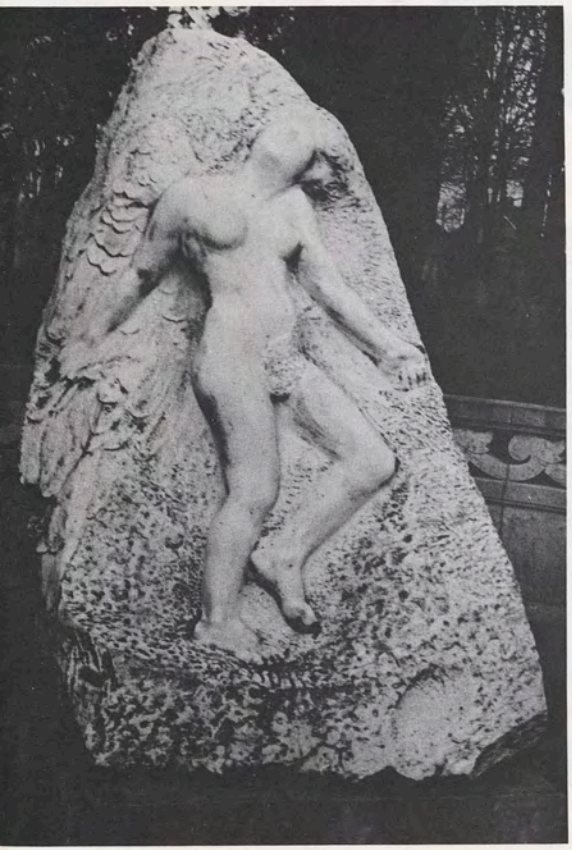


Plate 72. *Orpheus and Euridice*. XI, C.

Plate 73. *Caryatid.* XII.

Plate 74. *Caryatid.* XII, carved replicas #1.

Plate 75. *Caryatid.* XII, carved replicas #2.

Cleveland owns another important figure from the *Gates of Hell,* the crouching female nude on the top of the left post, called *Caryatid Carrying Her Stone* or *Destiny* [XII, Plate 73]. Rodin cast it as a separate work both in the original size and enlarged to over-lifesize. He also made in both sizes a variant known as the *Caryatid Carrying an Urn*—instead of a stone (Grappe, no. 91). The languishing pose as well as the physical structure of the model (e.g. the pliability of the body) brings the *Caryatid* close to the *Crouching Woman* (Grappe, no. 83) of the early 1880's, also found on the upper part of the *Gates*: on the tympanum to the left of the *Thinker* and high up on the right post, combined with a male nude.[22] Although the *Caryatid* is more sentimental and less daring in attitude and modeling than the *Crouching Woman,* she is still one of the most harmonious of Rodin's female nudes. I believe it is this figure that Bartlett calls *Sorrow,* attributing its inspiration to Baudelaire's *Flowers of Evil* and reporting that, already by 1888 it was considered to be one of Rodin's best works and was made in many bronze and marble replicas.[23]

* * *

Plate 76. *The Sirens.* XIII.

Plate 77. *The Sirens.* XIII, carved replicas #1.

Plate 79. *The Sirens.* XIII, carved replicas #3.

Plate 78. *The Sirens.* XIII, carved replicas #2.

The only fragment from the panels of the *Gates* in the Cleveland Museum is the group of three female nudes called *The Sirens* (middle left of the left panel), also known under the titles *Nereids, The Song of the Sirens,* and *Niobe.* This beautifully entangled group exists as a separate work both in the original size and in a larger version, a cast of which belongs to Cleveland [XIII, Plate 76]. Since it was exhibited in the Rodin-Monet show of 1889 (cat. no. 29), it must date earlier in the 1880's, although it does not appear (at least not in its present location) in a photograph of the left panel of the *Gates,* published by Bartlett in 1889 (see footnote 7). *The Sirens* were later used (enlarged to ca. one yard long) in the definitive project for the second Victor Hugo monument [Plate 11], as well as in *The Death of the Poet,* a rather unsuccessful composition placed on the tympanum of a maquette for a fireplace with Adam and Eve as the side caryatid figures (Musée Rodin, Meudon) (Grappe, no. 198).

* * *

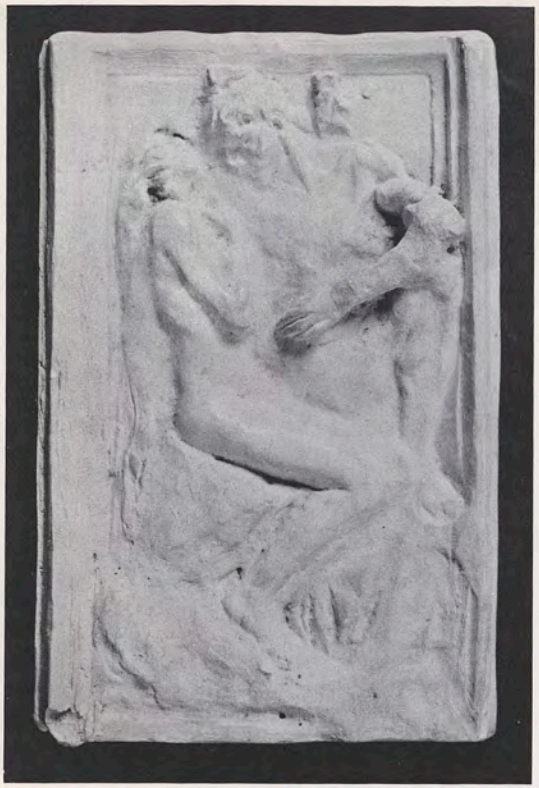


Plate 81. *Embracing Couple.* XIV, #1.

There also is in the Cleveland collection a low relief from the right post of the *Gates,* representing an *Embracing Couple* [XIV, Plate 80]. The subjects of the reliefs on the posts and lower part of the door are related, closely if not specifically, to the idyllic yet often disquieting motifs of nymphs, satyrs, and cupids chasing and embracing each other, which Rodin depicted on his vases for the Sèvres porcelain factory from mid-1879 to the end of 1882.[24] The little (H. 4-1/2 in.) plaster of the *Embracing Couple* in Cleveland, as well as a similar plaster in the Washington National Gallery [Plate 81], must be a reduction of and not the model for the larger (H. 35 in.) relief of this subject on the *Gates.* The breaks on the man's sinister arm in the Cleveland cast correspond exactly with those of the larger relief on the stripped plaster *Gates* at Meudon [Plate 66]; and in the Washington cast the similarly broken arm has been carelessly replaced by a sketchy arm at a different angle. The proof that the small plaster casts were copied from the stripped door, probably after 1900, is that the lower right post with the relief of the *Embracing Couple* intact is reproduced in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* of May 1898, p. 421.

* * *

A medal called *Protection* (Grappe, no. 433), made by Rodin in 1916 for the French Actors Fund, is a variation of another relief from the *Gates of Hell.* It is a reduction of the embracing couple called *Vain Tenderness* (Grappe, no. 213) near the top of the left post. Probably conceived in the early '80's, it was considered in 1905 as the subject for a medal to be struck by Les Amis de la Médaille and to be titled *Art Embracing Matter.* It is possible that the relief was reduced to medal size in 1905, but cast only as *Protection* eleven years later. It exists both in bronze and silver, and Cleveland owns one of the silver casts [XV, Plate 82].

Plate 80. *Embracing Couple.* XIV.

[1] To be more exact, the subject agreed upon was the *Divine Comedy*, which Rodin soon limited to the *Inferno*. Bartlett, p. 48, implies that this subject was given to Rodin by the Committee, but every other source concurs that the sculptor himself suggested it. In fact, Rodin had already made in the late 1870's drawings inspired by the *Inferno* (see plates 10-30, in A. E. Elsen, *Rodin's Gates of Hell* [Minneapolis, 1960]; hereafter quoted as Elsen, *Gates*).

[2] E. Rod, "L'Atelier de M. Rodin," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, May 1898, p. 422. A later witness, Rodin's secretary F. Lawton, quotes comparable statements of Rodin regarding the *Gates*: "I used to think that movement was the chief thing in sculpture—and in all I did it was what I tried to attain. My "Hell Gate" is the record of those strivings. It contains the whole history. There I have made movement yield all that it can." (*The Life and Works of Rodin* [London, 1906], p. 160.)

[3] In 1883 some of the early Rodin drawings from the *Inferno* were published in *L'Art*, XXXV, 32-39, but none of them seems to have been used for any of the definitive figures and groups of the *Gates*.

[4] Elsen, *Gates*, p. 71.

[5] F. Champsaur ("Celui qui revient de l'Enfer," *Le Figaro* [Supplément], January 16, 1886) wrote a description of the *Gates of Hell* at that stage. He mentions the *Three Shadows* on top, the *Thinker* on the tympanum, the low reliefs on the posts and the row of masks on the rim above the tympanum. But his description of the panels seems closer to the last modeled sketch of the *Gates* (Elsen, *Gates*, pl. 43) rather than to the final doors: "Chaque battant est divisé en deux panneaux séparés par un groupe. D'un côté Ugolin; de l'autre Françoise de Rimini."

[6] Bartlett, p. 61. According to G. Geffroy ("Chronique; Rodin," *La Justice*, July 11, 1886), Rodin exhibited there two portraits—*Dalou* and *Rochefort*—and eight studies for the *Gates*—*Eve*, the *Crouching Woman*, the *Caryatid*, a woman "seated on a rock folded into two," *Je suis belle*, and three other couples that I could not identify.

[7] Some of the major changes have occurred on the left panel. A photograph of the lower half of the left panel, reproduced by Bartlett reversed (*American Architect and Building News*, XXV [1889], second plate before p. 283), shows that the little figures to the left of the *Ugolino* and of the *Paolo and Francesca* groups were at that time different from the present. Neither the *Sirens* group nor the three female nudes with the lower part of their bodies hanging out from a cave appear in that early photograph. Moreover, under *Paolo and Francesca* is shown, instead of the present tomb, one of the later rejected reliefs with a large crying mask in the middle and centaurs chasing women on the sides (Elsen, *Gates*, pl. 70). These reliefs with centaurs were apparently still on the *Gates* in the late 1890's when Léon Maillard wrote his monograph on Rodin but were replaced by 1900 when Rodin showed the door at his retrospective.

[8] There is a strange and probably accidental analogy between Rodin's nudes of the *Gates*, floating or falling into space, and a little-known decorative sculptural work by Gustave Doré: a gi-

Plate 82. *Protection*. XV.

gantic bronze vase called *The Vintage*, signed and dated "Gve Doré 1877-78," foundry mark "Thiébaut-Frères-Fondeurs" (a cast of it exists in the De Young Museum, San Francisco). While Rodin did not pay any attention to Doré's unimaginative illustrations of Dante's *Inferno* made almost twenty years earlier (Paris: Hachette, 1861), it is possible that he saw this vase and received some inspiration from it.

[9] Bartlett, p. 69. Cf. with later statements such as the following: "M. Rodin disait autrefois: 'L'éloquence de la sculpture est dans le mouvement.' Il dit aujourd'hui: 'L'éloquence de la sculpture est dans le modelé.' " (E. Rod, "L'Atelier de M. Rodin," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, May 1898, p. 421); or Rodin's statement in *La Revue*, November 1, 1907 (quoted in Elsen, *Gates*, p. 89): "Today I try to give the impression of life, not so much by movement as by modeling. I think that the almost imperceptible trembling of the muscles in a relatively calm pose translates much better the mystery of the flesh than the most pathetic gestures."

[10] Cladel, 1936, p. 142. In fact the most projecting parts of the *Gates* had been removed (probably for practical reasons) when the work had reached a certain stage of completeness in the late 1880's, as is proven by a photograph in *L'Art Français*, July 6, 1889 (kindly indicated to me by A. E. Elsen).

[11] C. Quentin, "Le Musée Rodin," *Art Journal*, 1900, p. 216.

[12] These were actually taken off when Rodin stripped the *Gates* of their highest projections. The parts that were cut off as well as the corresponding areas on the door were carefully marked with numbers and concave-convex keys which would allow a proper reassembling of the entire composition. These precautions later allowed the bronze founders to reassemble and cast the *Gates* which had been taken apart before Rodin's death. But for some reason the high moldings on the inside of the two posts were never put back. It is worth noticing that these two moldings were asymmetrical, each turning to the same direction (to the right).

[13] The volutes of rope high up were made of plaster and may be a part of a strange decoration. But the lower piece of rope was real rope coming out of the framework and coated with plaster, as can be seen on the stripped plaster model of the *Gates* at the Meudon museum. This latter piece had probably had at some time a functional purpose in the construction of the door.

[14] A. Rodin, *Les Cathédrales de France* (Paris: A. Colin and A. Floury [1914]), p. 66.

[15] Elsen, *Gates*, pls. 33, 36 and 38.

[16] First exhibited in 1889, at the Monet-Rodin exhibition at the Galerie Georges Petit in Paris, as no. 27, "*Le Penseur; le Poète*, fragment de porte."

[17] See last architectural clay-sketch for the *Gates* (Elsen, *Gates*, pl. 43), where *The Thinker* is already present. For preparatory studies of *The Thinker* itself see Elsen, *Gates*, pls. 58-61.

[18] A more immediate precedent of Rodin's *Thinker* is Carpeaux's *Ugolino* (1861), comparable in the scale, the stressed musculature, the position of the dexter arm on the sinister knee and the tortured feet. But the ancestry of Carpeaux's figure seems to go back to Michelangelo, too.

[19] Elsen, 1963, p. 52, quoted from *Saturday Night*, Toronto, December 1, 1917.

[20] Cladel, 1936, p. 243.

[21] According to the Musée Rodin, the figure of the *Martyr* has also been used in a decorative group in the vestibule of the villa "La Sapinière" at Evian.

[22] Rodin often used on the *Gates* one figure several times, changing its position or sometimes changing parts of the figure. The best known examples of such repetitions are the *Three Shadows* on top of the *Gates* and the *Fugit Amor* couple (Grappe, nos. 173 and 174) used twice on the right panel, at the lower right and again, reversed, in the middle of the panel. Also the sinister arm of the male figure of the *Fugit Amor* appears by itself twice on the right panel, in the lower middle (under the reversed *Fugit Amor*, to the right) and again lower by the right edge of the panel (above the lower *Fugit Amor*). Other figures or groups that appear more than once on the *Gates* are the following: The *Fauness* (Grappe, no. 88), the little female figure with open legs, hands under the chin and elbows raised up, appears four times: once on the very top of the lintel above the tympanum (to the right of the *Three Shadows*), once on the upper left corner of the door (stuck by itself on the frame of the panels), and twice on the right panel, in the upper left and again in the middle reversed (above and to the left of the upper *Fugit Amor*). The figure called *Polyphemus* (Grappe, nos. 200-203 and 367) is used twice next to itself in the middle right of the right panel. The seated old man with joined upraised hands, called *Vieillard Suppliant* (Grappe, no. 158), appears twice, in the upper left corner of the right panel and again in the upper middle left of the left panel. The female nude with raised arms, knees bent, and her back turned to the spectator seen in the upper right corner of the right panel (Grappe, no. 223) is also met again in the upper middle of the same panel. Two of the three little female nudes with their lower bodies hanging out of a cave on the lower left of the left panel (left of the *Ugolino* group) are the same figure. The man climbing from the left panel onto the lintel above (Grappe, nos. 81 and 82) is a variation of the man holding the *Crouching Woman* towards the top of the right post (a group which isolated is called *Je suis belle*, Grappe, no. 85), and his back reappears reversed at the lower left of the right panel. The seated old man with hands on knees and his back turned to the spectator (Grappe, no. 99) appears once in the lower center of the right panel and again on top of the lintel right under the left of the *Three Shadows*. The staggering woman with legs open at the extreme right of the tympanum, known as *Standing Fauness* (Grappe, no. 110), is a variation of the woman raising her dexter elbow behind the *Thinker*. The small figure holding her sinister foot with her sinister hand is used three times on the right panel, on the upper left (under *Fauness*), further down next to the lower *Fauness*, and reversed to the left of and below the reversed *Fugit Amor*.

[23] Bartlett, p. 79.

[24] For the vases that Rodin decorated while he was employed at the Manufacture de Sèvres see R. Marx, *Auguste Rodin, céramiste* (Paris, 1907).

The Groups and the Problem of the Marble Replicas

Plate 83. *Embracing Children.* XVI, bronze casts #1.

The *Children Embracing* [XVI, Plate 84] is one of the two Rodin marbles in the Cleveland Museum. As children and putti are a major element in building decoration and small-scale decorative sculpture, which Rodin was obliged to make to earn his living until the age of forty, a considerable number of his children, combined in groups of two or with an adult female figure, exist from the 1870's and early 1880's.[1] These little pieces, made while Rodin was working for Carrier-Belleuse, "the Clodion of the Second Empire," have the sweet charm of the rococo tradition. Partly under this influence, from which he never completely escaped, and in connection with his decorative work for the Sèvres factory, Rodin included a number of children motifs on his *Gates,* mainly on the reliefs of the posts and the lower part of the panels. As far as I can determine, neither of the children in the Cleveland group was used on the *Gates,* or on the reliefs of his Sèvres vases. However, the free and summary, yet very subtle, modeling of this piece would point to a relatively late date, probably ca.1881, as Grappe suggests (no. 71).

Rodin's marbles were much admired and in demand during the later part of his career. Judging from the number of his works transferred into marble, and many of them in more than one replica, one would assume that Rodin was not very conscious of the appropriateness of a form for a certain material and technique. This suspicion, unbearable to the earlier twentieth-century mind which believed in "truth to the material," created a tendency to depreciate Rodin's numerous marbles. Moreover, their soft modeling and

Plate 84. *Embracing Children.* XVI.

Plate 85. *Embracing Children.* XVI, carved replicas #1.

romantic postures are too far removed from the rough or hard textures and the austere or geometric forms that appeal to the modern sensitivity. Finally, the fact that Rodin's assistants did the major part of the carving was unacceptable to the sculptor of the first half of this century who returned to direct carving. Although I have already touched upon this problem in an earlier article,[2] I should like to analyze here more carefully the relationship between the bronzes and the marbles of Rodin, through the sculptor's ideas on the subject, as well as through close comparison of the works themselves.

Most witnesses commenting on Rodin as a marble carver agree that he left most if not all of the work to his assistants. But one can also quote other witnesses, for example one of his models, who knew the master at work more directly than social visitors and late clients:

"He had a block of marble ready, with the outlines of a figure in crayon . . . Oh, he worked very fast. Chip-chip-chip and the marble flew everywhere. For a little man he was very strong and used a big mallet."[3]

"Then to work he would go furiously. Chip, chip, chip, hours at a time. . . . Then, I believe it was in 1897, he began two figures—a man and a woman. We sat upon a bench for hours. M. Rodin was more terrible than ever. He never would stop, but kept the chisel going every day. . . . For weeks he kept us there. . . . Then, of course, when he really became famous he was happy about it. But he never ceased to work. The only difference was that he brought in students to do the rough chiselling."[4]

Although Rodin was without doubt a natural-born modeler, passages like those above verify that he was at least competent in carving and carved whole figures by himself as late as the 1890's. When he could not afford the time to undertake the lengthy process of carving, he was certainly most conscientious in supervising his assistants and most sensitive to the result, as the following quotation from Bartlett indicates:

"This bust [*Mme Morla Vicuna,* 1884; Grappe, no. 116] was the first work purchased by the State, at the

Salon [of 1888], for the Luxembourg gallery, for the sum of eight hundred dollars. Exquisitely charming as it is, the sculptor does not regard it as a fully satisfactory reproduction of his model, because it bears too much the impress of the character of the superior marble-cutter who executed it. Rodin understands the fine fact, that just in proportion that a marble workman excels in his trade does he unconsciously give his work his own interpretation of the model which he copies. And this in spite of the most exacting means of mechanical measurement that he may employ. With a sensitive sculptor this is precisely what is not wanted, and the only way that he can insure the exact reproduction of his model in marble is to do the work himself. But this method is practically impossible, because he cannot afford to do it for the prices he receives."[5]

This statement reassures us on two points: first, that the reason that Rodin did not transfer his works into marble himself was not his inadequacy; second, that he was fully aware of the cases in which the marble-cutter had imprinted his own personality on the work. Obviously these instances were not too frequent, since Rodin went on transferring more and more of his works into marble. On the other hand we can be confident that Rodin knew well enough the appropriateness of a material for a form. According to Judith Cladel: "... he regretted that *bronze* replicas of the Medici tombs [by Michelangelo] had been placed on the square of the Signoria, because, 'as they were made in marble, their technique was not the one required by metal.' "[6] It is more frequent for a sculptor, however, to pass from bronze to marble as Rodin usually did, than vice versa. Moreover, one discovers on close examination of the works that Rodin did not simply copy a bronze into marble: he adapted the form into the new material, and often transformed it into a new work. Obliged to transfer the sensitive surface of his modeled sculptures into a hard material, he had to adopt different degrees of finish for different areas of the work, and left partly uncut the mass of the marble, thus uniting the smoothly carved figures to the rough, inert matter from which they seem to emerge. Taking

Plate 86. *Embracing Children.* XVI, carved replicas #2.

examples among the Cleveland Rodins alone, one can immediately notice differences in texture treatments or in the relations of volumes and voids between the modeled and carved versions of the *Caryatid* [Plates 73, 74, 75], the *Good Fairy* [Plates 94 and 95], the *Embracing Children* [Plates 83 and 86], or the *Fall of the Angels* [Plates 87 and 88].

Pushing the examination of his marbles further, I would suggest that Rodin's peculiar treatment of the marble is not only due to the nature and possibilities of this material but also to a change of style that occurred in his sculpture from the 1890's on. Probably under the influence of the Symbolists (Eugène Carrière in particular) and of Medardo Rosso, Rodin developed, through the use of marble, a veiled undulating modeling with few contrasts, subtle passages, and translucent shadows. That this way of modeling was connected with a change in his ideas rather than limited to the rendering of his works in marble is proven by the fact that in the last decades of his career Rodin had a number of bronzes cast after carved versions. The sequence of executions in those cases would be the following: (1) model or sketch in clay cast into plaster and often into bronze; (2) one or more carved versions after the original plaster model; (3) plaster and sometimes bronze versions cast after a marble.[7] These marbles usually are, as I have already mentioned, quite different from the original model. It is doubtful that an assistant carver would take such liberties copying a work of the master. It is even less probable that assistants would invent the consistent personal style of modeling that Rodin's marbles undoubtedly have—whoever the cutter may have been. Whether they please our taste or not and in spite of their uneven quality, we must accept that those marbles are certainly Rodin's own product, created under his close supervision if not entirely by his own hands, and they constitute a major part of his oeuvre.

* * *

Plate 87. *The Fall of the Angels.* XVII, bronze casts #1. (Photo courtesy Sotheby's.)

The *Fall of the Angels* [XVII, Plate 88], the second of Rodin's marbles in the Cleveland collection, is one of three groups with falling winged figures, each of which

Plate 89. *The Kiss of the Angel.* Plaster, H. 25-1/4 inches. Musée Rodin, Paris.

Plate 90. *Ange déchu.* Marble, H. 21-3/4 inches. Musée Rodin, Paris.

has been called at times *The Fall of Icarus.* The first one [Plate 89] (Grappe, no. 237), also called *The Kiss of the Angel, Sleep,* or *Dream,* represents a winged female figure falling headfirst on another female nude lying face down. That winged figure shown as a separate piece has been called *Illusion, Daughter of Icarus* or *The Fall of Icarus* (different from the falling angel with the body of the *Martyr,* Plate 70). The second group [Plate 90] (Grappe, no. 277), also known as *L'Ange déchu* or *Illusion Received by the Earth,* represents a female winged figure falling on its back and being received in the arms of another female nude. The third group is the Cleveland marble (Grappe, no. 411). It represents a male winged figure falling on his back headfirst, received by a female nude who bends over him.

Although none of the above groups has been used on the *Gates of Hell,* except for the winged figure from the second group (upper left corner of tympanum),[8] it is quite probable that they all are combinations of figures once intended for the *Gates.*[9] As there is no doubt that the two first groups were made in the early 1880's (see Grappe, nos. 77 and 237), it is quite probable that the bronze model for the Cleveland group also

Plate 88. *The Fall of the Angels.* XVII.

A. Rodin

Plate 92. *Esculape*. XVIII, other compositions containing the young girl A.

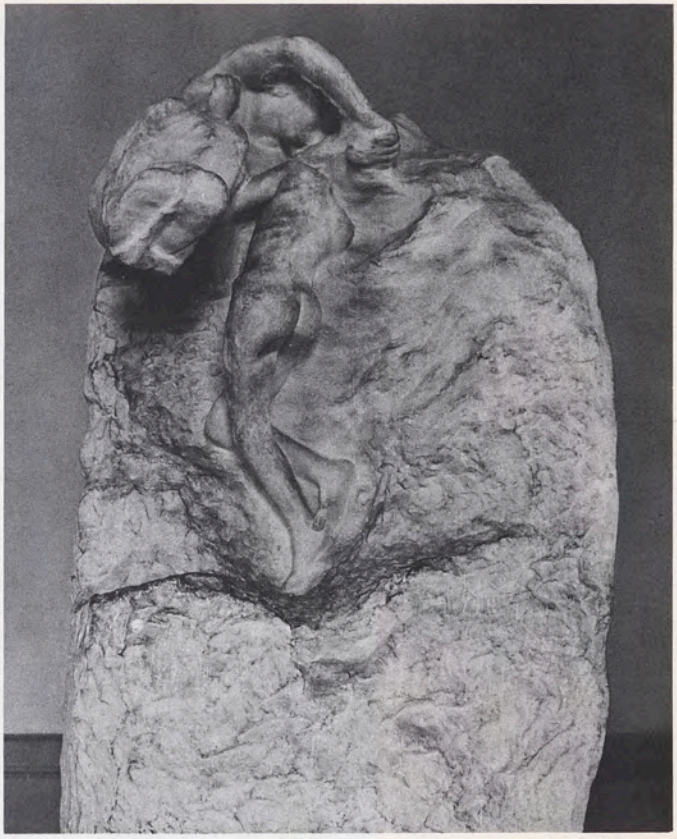


Plate 93. *The Earth and the Moon*. XVIII, other compositions containing the young girl B.

belongs to that decade rather than after 1900, where Grappe tentatively places it. It is very likely, however, that the composition was carved in marble at a later date, in the 1890's or after 1900, judging from the soft, creamy carving.

* * *

Triumphant Youth [XVIII, Plate 91], known also under the titles *La Jeune fille et la parque, Le Baiser de l'aïeule* and *La Parque et la convalescente* (Grappe, no. 270), is a combination of two independent figures. One of them, the sitting old woman, is the famous *Celle qui fut la Belle Heaulmière* (or *Old Courtesan*) of the early 1880's. Rodin probably made this figure for the *Gates* but only used it, changed, in the relief of the lower

Plate 91. *Triumphant Youth*. XVIII.

Plate 95. *The Good Fairy.* XIX, enlarged version #1.

left post.[10] Later, he combined two casts of the *Belle Heaulmière* facing each other in a grotto to make a new composition called *Les Sources Taries* (Grappe, no. 122).[11]

The figure of the young girl is probably among the rejections from the *Gates.* Somewhat changed, it forms, together with a male nude, the group known as *Esculape* or *Ex-voto* [Plate 92] (Grappe, no. 326); and enlarged to about 27 inches long, it forms, combined with another female nude, the work called *The Earth and the Moon* [Plate 93] (Grappe, no. 294).

The group of *Triumphant Youth* is one of Rodin's most unexpected, almost nightmarish combinations of separate figures. The nude of the old woman here is not the original bronze. It was certainly cast after a carved version of the *Belle Heaulmière,* as is indicated by the dull modeling and the way her left foot emerges from the block of the base. The original *Belle Heaulmière* has a superbly meaningful and crisp modeling and her feet are closer together on the base.

* * *

The *Good Fairy* [XIX, Plate 94], also known as *Young Girl Confiding Her Secret to Isis* (or to a Shadow), *Cérès,* or *Etreinte,* is another group of two combined female nudes. That they were separate originally is proven by the fact that the kneeling figure (Isis, or the Shadow) has been adapted to the height of the young girl: the former's torso has been elongated by the addition of a second upper part so that the figure has two sets of breasts superimposed. Obviously Rodin, trying to bring the two heads to the same level, added the upper torso of another female figure on top of the torso of the kneeling woman;[12] and, smoothing the transition on the back and arms, he neglected to make the necessary anatomical changes on the interior surfaces of the group.

This group was included in the Rodin retrospective of 1900 (cat. no. 128), but the individual figures must date from earlier years.

Plate 94. *The Good Fairy.* XIX.

[1] See Grappe, nos. 12, 24, 25, 26, 34, 35, 130, 131, 132, and 162.

[2] Athena C. Tacha, "The 'Prodigal Son': Some New Aspects of Rodin's Sculpture," *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin*, Fall 1964, pp. 23-39.

[3] "The Model of 'The Kiss' Talks on Rodin," *New York Times Magazine*, July 6, 1930, p. 17.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[5] Bartlett, p. 84.

[6] ". . . il regrettait que des reproductions en *bronze* des Tombeaux Medicis avaient été placées place de la Seigneurerie, parce que, 'faites pour le marbre, leur technique n'était pas celle que réclame le métal.' " Cladel, 1936, p. 308.

[7] For a list of bronzes and plasters cast after marbles see A. C. Tacha, n. 17.

[8] This female nude without wings is also part of the group *Eternal Spring* (Grappe, no. 113), and its torso amputated is known as the *Torso of Adèle* (Grappe, no. 77). Judith Cladel (1936, p. 135) mentions that this torso is the first study for the two Triton-caryatids which Rodin made in 1878 to decorate the facade of the Villa Neptune, on the Promenade des Anglais in Nice.

[9] Rodin indeed used several falling winged figures on the *Gates:* one on each top corner of the lintel, one projecting out from the upper center of the left panel and one on the lower left corner of the left panel.

[10] This relief with the old woman appears also on the Sèvres vase composition called *Les Limbes et les Syrènes*, pl. XVII in R. Marx, *Auguste Rodin, céramiste* (Paris, 1907).

[11] Grappe mentions that this group was shown already in the Monet-Rodin exhibition of 1889. But in the catalogue of this exhibition there is only one work including two old women, no. 6, "Bas-relief. Deux vieilles femmes. L'une d'elles est à modifier," which obviously is not the group I described (a plaster of which exists in the Musée Rodin at Meudon).

[12] Although there are many similar kneeling female nudes in Rodin's oeuvre, I have not been able to identify this particular one. The closest to it (but of larger dimensions) is the figure called *Le Succube* or *Barking Hecuba* (Grappe, no. 236).

Plate 96. *The Good Fairy*. XIX, bronze casts after a marble #1.

The Fragments

Another work probably made in the 1890's is *The Hand of God* or *Creation* [XX, Plate 97], also shown in the 1900 Rodin retrospective (cat. no. 67). In an effort to express through the human figure the act of creation, Rodin assimilated the image of the creation of man by God with the creation of sculpture by the artist. In spite of such a naively literal interpretation of the subject, the hand is superbly modeled in its turning gesture.

In the later part of his career Rodin enlarged several studies of hands into independent works. Among these the closest to the *Hand of God* are the *Hand from the Tomb* or *Châtiment* (Grappe, no. 417), left hand in the same position, and *The Hand of Devil Holding the Woman* (Grappe, no. 327), of the same iconographical vein. Although Rodin (and his assistants) made innumerable studies of hands, I believe that I have identified the exact source of the *Hand of God:* the right hand of the Burghers Pierre and Jacques de Wiessant, which "opens in the air as though to let something go, as one gives freedom to a bird," according to Rilke's description.[1] This hand by itself, placed on a base in a vertical position, is known as the *Grande Main de Pierre de Wiessant* [Pl. 102].[2] The *Hand of God* exists in three basic sizes—one about a foot high, one half as large (e.g., the Cleveland cast) and the third two feet high or more. Judging from the size and mounting of the middle version, I would suggest that it is the original model, of which the small size is a reduction and the larger versions enlargements.

* * *

Plate 97. *The Hand of God.* XX.
(Opposite page and above)

Plate 97a. *The Hand of God.* XX,
middle size #1. (Archives Photographiques.)

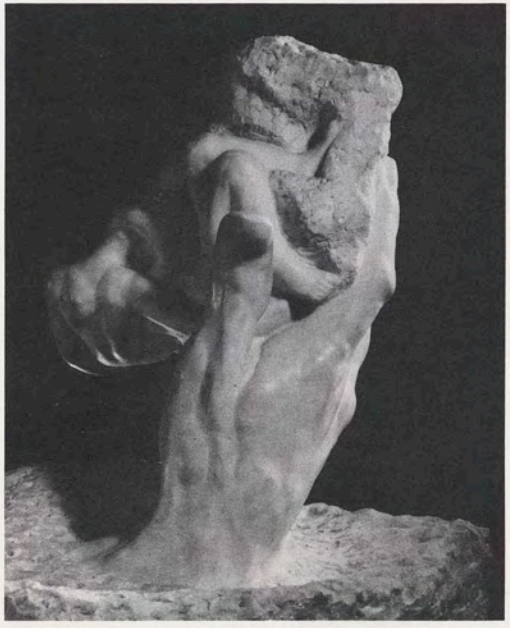


Plate 98. *The Hand of God.* XX, carved
replicas #1. (Archives Photographiques.)

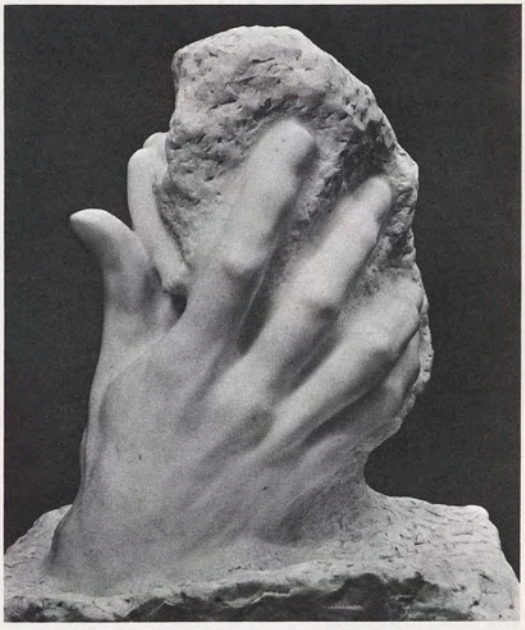


Plate 99. *The Hand of God.*
XX, carved replicas #2.

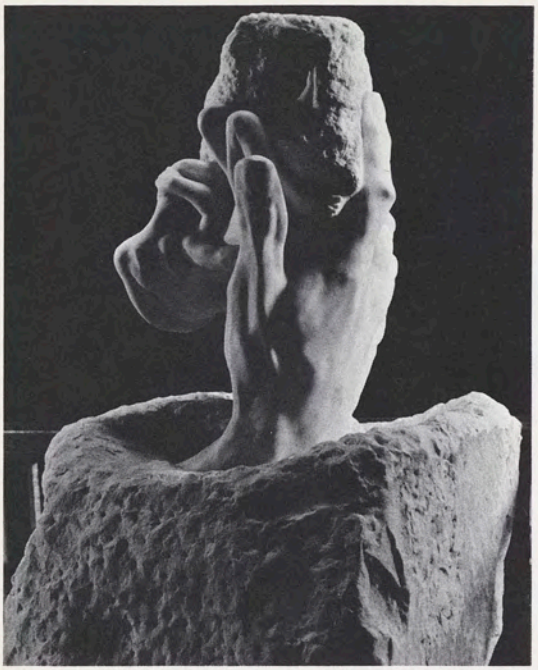


Plate 100. *The Hand of God.*
XX, carved replicas #3.

Plate 101. *The Hand of God.*
XX, large size, bronze, #1.

Plate 102. *Large Hand of Pierre de Wiessant.* Bronze, H. 13-1/2 inches. Courtesy Roland, Browse and Delbanco Galleries, London.

Plate 103. *Left Foot.* XXI.

Plate 105. Drawer with fragments from Rodin's studio in Meudon.

The *Foot* [XXI, Plate 103] and the *Leg* [XXII, Plate 104] are also among those hundreds of separate fragments from figures, or little independent studies, which Rodin kept in shelves and drawers in his studios and most of which still exist at the reserves of the Meudon museum [Plate 105]. The *Foot* is a free-standing one, either from a floating or flying figure, or made as an object to be picked up and enjoyed from all sides. Its bottom is as marvelously modeled as its top, and the cramped toes, full of anxiety, justify what Rodin said about the *Thinker's* toes. Minimal parts of the body, they contain as much soul as the whole figure could express.

[1] R. M. Rilke, *Auguste Rodin* (1903); first published in English in 1945, trans. J. Lamont and H. Trausil (New York: Fine Editions Press); reprinted in *Auguste Rodin; Readings on His Life and Work*, ed. A. Elsen (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 138.

[2] H. 13-1/2 in. An enlargement bent at the wrist of the original terra cotta, H. 10-3/4 in., in Meudon, reproduced in the Slatkin Rodin exhibition of 1963, p. 64.

Plate 104. *Right Leg.* XXII.

Introduction to the Catalogue

The purpose of this catalogue has been to trace as far back as possible the history of each Rodin work in the Cleveland Museum; to compile a list of other casts or carved replicas of these works; and to identify variants of the same subject, or other sculptures related to each (Cleveland) piece. As Rodin often made many versions of a subject and used fragments of sculptures put together differently to create new works, I do not pretend to have given here a complete list of the variants of each work or of its related works. I am also certain not to have discovered all the casts and marbles of each piece, especially since the Musée Rodin has issued twelve posthumous bronze casts for each sculpture (although they have not yet made and sold all of them in most cases). I have not gone into the lengthy task of tracing the history of all casts and marbles similar to the Cleveland Rodins: such a research, desirable for the whole Rodin oeuvre, would be possible only through the efforts of an international team of art historians.[1] However, I have indicated the previous owners, the year of acquisition, the posthumous casts, and the foundry mark when known.

Since Rodin collaborated almost exclusively with Alexis Rudier from 1902 to both men's death in 1917, it is safe to consider casts with other foundry marks as previous to 1902. Unfortunately, it is impossible to distinguish between Rudier casts before and after Alexis' death, because the foundry kept his mark until the mid-1950's. But after minute study of the different ways in which that mark was incised, it may be possible in the future to date casts with more precision or

at least group together casts made at the same time. Posthumous casts made after ca. 1952 bear the foundry mark of Georges Rudier and often the edition number, the date and the mention "Musée Rodin."

I should like to thank The Cleveland Museum of Art and in particular Sherman E. Lee, Director, and Henry H. Hawley, Associate Curator of Decorative Arts, for their generous assistance in this project. I am especially indebted to Judith Conrad, Assistant in the Decorative Arts Department, for her valuable help in checking innumerable museum and sales catalogues, as well as in taking care of the great bulk of correspondence required for the compilation of this catalogue.

I should also like to express my gratitude to the numerous museums, art dealers, and collectors in this country and abroad who contributed in the completion of this study by willingly giving me the requested information, photographs and other documentary material. Among the Rodin connoisseurs that kindly offered me their suggestions and opinions on specific details, I owe my warmest thanks to Roland, Browse and Delbanco of London, who clarified some of my problems about the bronze casts, and above all, to Professor Albert E. Elsen of Indiana University, who with his cooperative spirit and generosity is always ready to give to Rodin students whatever help he can.

[1] Casts sold at auction, whose buyer and present owner I have been unable to trace, I nevertheless list in this catalogue with the hope that they may be discovered in the future.

Catalogue

I. *Mignon: Bust of Rose Beuret (Mme Rodin)*

Plate 1. (G. 14 and 15)

Bronze, black patina. 16-3/16 x 12-3/4 x 10-1/2 in. Ca. 1870. Earliest portrait of Rose. Signed sinister shoulder "A. Rodin"; and inside in relief "A. Rodin." Foundry mark dexter shoulder "ALEXIS RUDIER./FONDEUR. PARIS." In memory of Ralph King. Gift of Mrs. Ralph King; Ralph T. Woods, Charles G. King; and Frances King Schafer. 46.351

Collections: Ralph King, Cleveland (purchased from Carnegie International Exhibition, Pittsburgh, 1920).

Exhibitions: Pittsburgh, 1920: 19th International Exhibition, no. 376.

Publications: Handbook of The Cleveland Museum of Art (Cleveland, 1966), p. 175.

Other bronze casts

1. Musée Rodin, Paris. (Signed sinister shoulder "A. Rodin." Foundry mark dexter shoulder "Georges Rudier/ Fondeur. Paris.")
2. California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco. (Signature and foundry mark as on Cleveland cast; second signature sinister shoulder upper back "Auguste Rodin.")
3. Rodin Museum, Philadelphia. (Black patina. Traces of piece mold. Signed like Cleveland cast. Foundry mark "Alexis Rudier/Fondeur Paris.")
4. M. H. De Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco. (Gift of Mrs. Herbert Fleishhacker. Black patina.)
5. Coll. Mr. John Coolidge, Cambridge, Mass. (No foundry mark.)

Plaster casts

1. Musée Rodin, Paris.

Other portraits of Mme Rodin

A. *L'Alsacienne*, 1891(?), H. 21 in., terra cotta, Musée Rodin, Paris (G. 16) [Pl. 2].

B. *Mask of Mme Rodin* (after the preceding), 1891(?), H. 10-5/8 in., bronze, Musée Rodin, Paris (G. 17).[1]

C. *Mask of Mme Rodin*, 1891(?), H. 10-1/2 in., bronze, Musée Rodin, Paris (G. 250); Rembrandt Art Foundation, Stellenbosch, South Africa [Pl. 3]; Pinacoteca e Museo Civico, Faenza (acquired in 1908; green patina; signed "A. Rodin" on sinister side of neck and inside cast); Detroit Institute of Arts (gift of Dr. and Mrs. G. Kamperman; ex-Sir W. Rothenstein and Sir J. Rothenstein; given by Rodin to the former).

D. *Mme Rodin*, marble (after the preceding), 1891(?), H. 18-1/2 in., Musée Rodin, Paris (G. 249).[2]

E. *Mask of Mme Rodin*, tinted *pâte de verre*, (after mask "C"), 1911, H. 9-1/2 in., Musée Rodin, Paris (G. 421); Rodin Museum, Philadelphia.

[1] I believe that Grappe reproduces under no. 250 the mask that he describes as no. 17—a mistake which probably occurred because of the similar dimensions of the two masks.

[2] Grappe mentions that there is a bronze mask cast after the marble no. 249, but I have never seen it in reality or in reproduction.

II. *Portrait of William E. Henley*

Plate 4. (G. 112)

Bronze, dark brown patina. 16-3/8 x 7-3/4 x 10-3/4 in. 1882. Signed back of neck bottom left "Rodin." Bequest of James Parmelee. 40.581

Collections: William E. Henley. Bought by Henry Symons from Henley's heirs between 1907 and 1915. Bought by Knoedler Galleries at the sale of Henry Symons Collection (American Art Galleries, New York, March 10, 1915, no. 2062). Bought by James Parmelee, Washington, from Knoedler Galleries, 1917.

Publications: C. Phillips, "Auguste Rodin," *Magazine of Art*, XI (1888), ill. p. 144. *Handbook of The Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland, 1966), p. 175.

Other bronze casts

1. Crypt in St. Paul's Cathedral, London. (Installed by Rodin in 1907.)
2. Jules Zessman, New York. (Ex-John Tweed; ex-Frumkin Gallery, N.Y. Dark brown patina. Traces of piece mold.)

Plaster casts

1. Musée Rodin, Paris.

III. *Bust of Victor Hugo*

Plate 6. (G. 95)

Bronze, dark brown patina. 22-1/8 x 10-1/2 x 10-1/4 in. (including base cast in one piece with the bust). H. 17 in. without base. 1883. First exhibited in bronze at the Paris Salon of 1884, cat. no. 3862. Signed dexter shoulder "A. Rodin." Bequest of James Parmelee. 40.580

Collections: James Parmelee, Washington (purchased from the Knoedler Galleries in 1916).

Other bronze casts

1. Musée Rodin, Paris. (The cast offered to Hugo. Black patina, H. 19 in. Inscribed on collar in front "A L'ILLUSTRE / MAITRE." Signed and dated right side of base "A. Rodin / 1883.") [Pl. 5.]
2. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. (Purchased in 1901. Green-beige patina, H. 17-1/2 in. Signed sinister shoulder "A. Rodin.")
3. National Museum, Stockholm. (Purchased in 1903. H. 18 in. Signed dexter shoulder "A. Rodin.")
4. Durban Art Gallery, Natal, South Africa (H. 17-3/4 in.).
5. California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco. (Mounted on rock base, H. of bronze 16 in.)
6. Rodin Museum, Philadelphia. (Black patina. H. 21-1/2 in. Signed on chest, sinister side "A. Rodin." Foundry mark behind dexter shoulder "Alexis RUDIER / Fondeur. PARIS.")
7. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon. (H. 21-1/4 in.)
8. Baldwin-Wallace College, Berea, Ohio. (Gift of Thomas L. Fawick, Cleveland. H. 22 in. Foundry mark dexter side of base "Alexis RUDIER FONDEUR PARIS.")
9. Jardin des Poètes, Auteuil.
10. Anonymous extended loan, National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo. (H. 17-3/4 in. Exh: Tokyo, N.M.W.A.; Museum of Kyoto; Cultural Center of Fukuoka; July 23-Dec. 11, 1966: Rodin, no. 47, ill.)

Plaster casts

1. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. (Presented in 1903.)
2. Rodin Museum, Philadelphia. (Dedicated to Fantin-Latour. Traces of piece mold. Base like Cleveland cast.)
3. Musée Rodin, Meudon. (After the Moscow marble.)
4. Maison de Victor Hugo, Paris.
5. Maison de Victor Hugo, Paris. (Colored dark green. Traces of piece mold. Base like Cleveland cast.)
6. Musée Calvert, Avignon.

Marble replicas

1. Musée Rodin, Paris. (Ex-Musée Luxembourg. Base similar to Cleveland bronze.)
2. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow. (Base similar to Musée Rodin bronze.) [Pl. 7.]
3. Petit Palais, Paris. (Acquired in 1888. Ex-Hôtel de Ville. H. 18 in.) [Pl. 8.]
4. Musée Rodin, Paris. (G. 418. H. 26-3/8 in; unfinished.) [Pl. 9.]

Reduced bust, H. 15-1/8 in., with base (similar to Cleveland cast), H. 11-1/2 in. without base—bronze casts

1. Besançon Museum. (Given by Mrs. C. Beauquier in 1934. Dark brown patina. Signed lower sinister side "Rodin.")
2. Sotheby sale, May 14, 1943, no. 4, ill. Bought by Tapier. (Unique cast with bronze laurel branch on base.)

Reduced head, H. 7 in. (G. 161)—bronze casts

1. Musée Rodin, Paris.
2. Bridgestone Gallery, Tokyo.
3. Charles Feingarten, Los Angeles. (Ex-World House Galleries, New York.)
4. Musée Jules-Cheret, Nice. (Green-brown patina. Traces of piece mold. Signed on sinister side of neck "A. Rodin." Foundry mark on dexter side of neck "Alexis Rudier/Fondeur Paris.")

Other portraits of Victor Hugo

Bust, bronze, H. 27-1/2 in. (G. 287), cast after the nude study (G. 286) for the second monument to the poet, Musée Rodin, Paris; Kunstmuseum, Basel; Maison de Victor Hugo, Paris [Pl. 10]; marble replica, H. 41-1/2 in., California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco.

Drawings for the head of Victor Hugo

a. Dexter profile, pen and ink, lost (ill. in Maillard, p. 9).
b. Sinister three-quarter back, dexter three-quarter front, dexter profile, pen and ink and wash(?), lost (ill. in Maillard, p. 12).
c. Sinister profile in a meditative pose, pen and ink, lost (ill. in Maillard, p. 18).
d. Front, head leaning on dexter hand, pen and ink and wash(?), lost (ill. in Maillard, p. 87).
e. Dexter three-quarter front, pencil(?), lost (ill. in Maillard, p. 97).

f. Front, head bending to the left, pen and ink, lost (ill. in Maillard, p. 99).
g. Head seen from above, pen and ink, lost (ill. in Maillard, p. 100).
h. Sinister profile, pen and ink and wash(?), lost (ill. in Maillard, p. 101).
i. Sinister profile, pen and ink, lost (ill. in Maillard, p. 102).

Prints after other lost drawings
A. Bust, drypoint (G. 102), several states, Musée Rodin, Paris.
B. Bust, drypoint (G. 104), several states, Musée Rodin, Paris.
C. Bust, engraving (G. 103), Musée Rodin, Paris.

IV (W). *Study for the head of the monument to Honoré de Balzac*

Plate 27. (B.18?)

Bronze, black patina. 7-3/8 x 8-1/8 x 6-3/8 in. 1897. Signed on hair behind sinister ear "A. Rodin." Gift of Mrs. Franklyn B. Sanders, in memory of Franklyn Brownell Sanders. 48.117[1]

Collections: John K. Sanders (bought from Rodin, June 1901; receipt of payment signed by Rodin and dated June 18, 1901, exists in the Cleveland Museum files).

Other bronze casts
1. California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco. (Purchased before Rodin's death. Dark brown patina. Signed "A. Rodin.")
2. National Gallery, Washington. (Ex-Simpson.)
3. Coll. George Heard Hamilton, New Haven, Conn.
4. Ateneum, Helsinki.
5. Coll. Ralph Colin, New York. (Ex-Curt Valentin.)
6. Private Collection, Ithaca, N. Y. (Parke-Bernet sale, Oct. 13, 1965, no. 78. Ex-Curt Valentin.)
7. Marlborough-Gerson Gallery, New York.
8. C. J. Ryan sale catalogue, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, Jan. 19 and 20, 1940, no. 103. (Ex-Knoedler. Green patina.) Sold to Mrs. Golding.
9. Coll. Dr. Malcolm W. Bick, Springfield, Mass. (Ex-World House Galleries, New York.)
10. Private collection, New York. (Posthumous cast. Ex-Ralph Coe Coll. Parke-Bernet sale, Jan. 14, 1959.)
11. Present location unknown. Lempertz auction, May 5-7, 1960, no. 354a, ill.

Plaster casts
1. Collection Margit Chanin, Ltd., New York.

Enlarged version, H. 20 in. (head 17 in.)—bronze casts
1. Rodin Museum, Philadelphia. (Black patina. Signed front right under neck "A. Rodin." Foundry mark lower back "ALEXIS RUDIER / Fondeur. PARIS.")

Stoneware, H. 18 in.
1. Rembrandt Art Foundation, Stellenbosch, S. Africa.

Studies for the head of the Balzac statue
(Versions marked with an asterisk [*] are not known to the author.)
A. Bust, 1891, H. 17 in.; plaster, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 1); bronze, Tate Gallery, London (given by Rodin to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1914; signed sinister shoulder "A. Rodin"; foundry mark dexter shoulder Alexis Rudier) [Pl. 13].
B. Mask, 1891, H. 7 in., terra cotta, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 2) [Pl. 14].
C. Mask, 1891, H. 9-3/4 in. (variant of the preceding), plaster, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 3) [Pl. 15].
D. Mask, 1891, H. 9-1/2 in.; plaster, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 4); terra cotta, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York [Pl. 16].
E. Head, 1891-92, H. 10-1/4 in., terra cotta, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 5) [Pl. 17].
F. Head,* 1891-92, H. 11 in. (variant of the preceding), terra cotta, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 6).
G. Head,* H. 11 in., terra cotta, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 7).
H. Head, 1891-92, H. 6-3/4 in., plaster, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 8) [Pl. 18].
I. Bust, 1891-92, H. 29 in. (after the preceding), plaster, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 9) [Pl. 19].
J. Half-length portrait, 1891-92, H. 22 in. (after head H), plaster, Musée Rodin, Meudon (B. 10) [Pl. 20].
K. Bust, 1892, H. 6 in., plaster, Rodin Museum, Philadelphia. Head for figure *h*.
L. Bust, 1892, H. 10-1/2 in., bronze, and H. 12-1/4 in., plaster, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 11 and 12; G. 265); Baltimore Museum of Art (Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Lansberg); Williams College Museum of Art, Williamstown, Mass. (H. 11-1/2 in.; signed back and inside "A. Rodin"; foundry mark Alexis Rudier); Tate Gallery, London (H. 12-1/2 in.; signed sinister shoulder "A. Rodin," and inside "A. Rodin."; foundry mark on dexter shoulder Alexis Rudier); Musée Toulouse-Lautrec, Albi; wax, coll. Mrs. Marcel Pollak, Paris (H. 8-1/4 in.). Head for figure-study *i*.[2]
M. Half-length portrait, 1892, H. 18-1/2 in. (after figure-study *i*), bronze, Joseph H. Hirshhorn Coll.
N. Head,* H. 8-1/4 in., terra cotta and plaster, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 13) [Pl. 21?].
O. Head, mid-1890's(?), H. 9-3/4 in., plaster, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 14) [Pl. 22].

P. Head, mid-1890's, H. 7-1/2 in., terra cotta, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 16?) [Pl. 23]. For figure-study *j* or *k*.
Q. Head, mid-1890's, H. 8 in. (variant of the preceding), terra cotta, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 17) [Pl. 23a]. For figure-study *j* or *k*.
R. Bust, mid-1890's, H. 17 in. (variant of the two preceding), plaster, Musée Rodin, Paris [Pl. 24].
S. Mask (without hair), mid-1890's (?), H. ca. 6 in., plaster, Musée Rodin, Paris.
T. Head, ca. 1896, H. 6 in., terra cotta, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 15?) [Pl. 25]. For figure-study *p*(?).
U. Head, 1896-97, H. ca. 4 or 5 in., terra cotta, Musée Rodin, Paris.
V. Head, 1896-97, H. 8-1/4 in. (similar to preceding), terra cotta and plaster, Musée Rodin, Paris [Pl. 26].
W. See main entry: IV (W), page 91.
X. Head, 1897, H. 7 in. (variant of the preceding); bronze, Joseph H. Hirshhorn Coll. [Pl. 28]; Ackland Art Center, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.; Collection H. M. the King of Sweden; plaster, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco.
Y. Head, 1897, H. 7-1/2 in., terra cotta and plaster, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 19) [Pl. 28a]. Cf. head of figure-study *t*.[3]
Z. Head, 1897, H. 5 in. (definitive study), wax, Musée Rodin, Paris, (B. 20).[4]

Studies for the figure of Balzac[5]

a. Dressed in period clothes, standing, dexter arm forward leaning on a support, sinister arm behind back, 1891-92, terra-cotta sketch, H. 7 in., Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 21).
b. Dressed in period clothes, standing, arms behind back, 1891-92, terra-cotta sketch, H. 8 in., Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 22) [Pl. 29].
c. Variant of the preceding, terra-cotta sketch, H. ca. 8-1/2 in., Musée Rodin, Meudon [Pl. 29a].
d. Dressed in period clothes, leaning against a pile of books, arms crossed on chest, 1891-92, H. 23-1/2 in., plaster, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 28) [Pl. 30]; Rodin Museum, Philadelphia (traces of piece mold).
e. Dressed in robe, standing with sinister leg advancing, holding manuscript, head slightly turned to left, 1891-92, plaster sketch, H. 38-1/4 in., Musée Rodin, Meudon (signed on back right corner of base "A. Rodin"; B. 30) [Pl. 31].
f. Dressed in robe, standing, hands at waist, a pile of manuscripts at his feet, 1891-92, H. 42-1/2 in., plaster, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 32) [Pl. 32].
g. Headless standing nude, dexter leg stepping on a mound, sinister arm behind back, dexter arm incomplete, 1891-92, H. 33-1/2 in., plaster, Musée Rodin, Meudon (*Rodin inconnu*. Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1962-63, no. 224) [Pl. 33].
gg. Standing nude, legs apart, dexter arm stretched forward, sinister arm behind back, 1891-92, H. 16-1/4 in.; plaster, Musée Rodin, Meudon (B. 23) [Pl. 33a]; bronze, Coll. Mrs. Helen Frankenthaler, New York (foundry mark Georges Rudier).
h. Nude, standing in the position of a wrestler, legs apart, arms crossed on chest, 1892, H. 29-1/2 in.; bronze, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 26; G. 266); plaster, Coll. Jean Lyonel d'Estrie, Paris.
i. Larger version of the preceding, H. 51-1/2 in.; plaster, Musée Rodin, Meudon (signed on base in front of sinister foot "Rodin"; marked on side of base, under signature "ORIGINAL"); bronze, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 27; G. 267) [Pl. 34]; bronze, Chicago Art Institute (inscribed Rodin, Original); bronze, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence (H. 50-1/4 in., dark gold patina; signed "Rodin, Original."; foundry mark back of base Alexis Rudier). Cf. head K and bust L.
j. Standing nude, legs widely spread apart, arms folded over bulging abdomen, 1893-1895, H. ca. 53 in., plaster, Musée Rodin, Meudon (B. 24) [Pl. 35]. Cf. heads P and Q.
k. The preceding study covered with robe open in front, 1893-1895, H. 54-1/4 in., plaster, Musée Rodin, Meudon (B. 25) [Pl. 36]. Cf. heads P and Q.
l. Sketch for the definitive nude, 1896 (?), H. 11-1/2 in., bronze, Musée Rodin, Paris [Pl. 37].
ll. Sketch for the definitive nude (with legs broken off), 1896 (?), H. ca. 7 in., terra cotta, Musée Rodin, Meudon.
m. Headless standing nude in the definitive attitude, dexter foot forward, hands crossed over genitals, 1896(?), H. 37-3/4 in., plaster, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 29) [Pl. 38].[6]
n. Sketch in the definitive attitude, covered with long drapery, 1896(?), H. 12 in., terra cotta, Musée Rodin, Meudon [Pl. 39].
o. Covered with long drapery, standing in the definitive attitude, 1896-97, H. 40-1/2 in., plaster, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 31) [Pl. 40].[7]
p. Covered with short drapery (real cloth dipped in plaster), standing in the definitive attitude, 1896-97, H. 41 in., plaster, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 34) [Pl. 41]. Cf. head T(?).
q. Dressed in robe, standing in the definitive attitude, but with head turned to right, sinister hand coming out of drapery holds part of the drapery, 1897, H. 45-3/4 in., plaster, Musée Rodin (B. 33) [Pl. 42].
r. Robe in the definitive position, 1897, terra-cotta sketch, H. 13-3/4 in., Musée Rodin, Meudon [Pl. 43].
s. Robe in the definitive position, 1897, H. 59 in., plaster, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 35) [Pl. 44].
t. Dressed in robe, standing in the definitive attitude, but head turned more to left and folds of robe more stressed, 1897, H. 41-3/4 in., bronze, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 36; G. 279); Rodin Museum, Philadelphia (green patina; signed top of base front right "A. Rodin "; found-

ry mark back left of base "Alexis Rudier/Fondeur. Paris") [Pl. 45]; National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo.
u. Standing in the definitive attitude, dressed in robe, neck and chest covered with drapery, 1897, H. 45-1/4 in., plaster, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 37) [Pl. 45a].
v. Final model, 1897-98, H. 42 in., plaster, Musée Rodin, Paris (B. 38) [ill. in Elsen, 1963, p. 98].

Final enlarged statue, 1898, H. 118 in., plaster, Musée Rodin, Meudon (B. 39; G. 289) [Pl. 46]. First exhibited at the Salon de la Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, Paris, 1898, cat. no. 150.
Bronzes (posthumous): Musée Rodin, Paris; Blvd. Raspail, Paris (erected in 1939); Koninklijk Museum Voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp (purchased in 1930; on loan to the Middelheim Museum, Antwerp); Museum of Modern Art, New York (given in 1954 in memory of Curt Valentin); Joseph H. Hirshhorn Coll. (purchased in 1965).

Drawings related to the Balzac monument
A. Standing figure, dexter arm forward resting on a support, sinister arm behind back, 1891-92, pencil on graph paper, 2 x 3-1/8 in. Rodin Museum, Philadelphia (ill. in J. de Caso, *Bulletin of Rhode Island School of Design,* May 1966, p. 13, pl. 6) Cf. figure study *a.*
B. Variant of above, 1891-92, pencil on graph paper, 2-1/8 x 3-3/8 in., Rodin Museum, Philadelphia (ill. in J. de Caso, p. 13, pl. 7).
C. Balzac standing in the definitive pose, dressed in robe (after the finished statue), 1897-98, pen and ink, 10-5/8 x 7-1/4 in., Musée Rodin, Paris (ill. on the cover of *Balzac*).

[1] The Cleveland cast has been reproduced in cast stone by Museum Pieces Inc., New York. Since 1959, 75 such casts were done, 48 of which have been sold through Feb. 1966.
[2] Goldscheider wrongly states in *Balzac* that B. 12 is the head for B. 24 (i.e. figure *j*). The head of the latter is similar to head studies P and Q (B. 16 and 17).
[3] Goldscheider states in *Balzac* that head Y was used for figure studies *p* and *t*, whereas I think that head T is closer than Y to the head of figure *p*.
[4] A marble replica of the definitive head is listed as no. 878 (lent by the Musée Rodin) in the exhibition Honoré de Balzac: 1799-1850, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1950. But I do not know if this marble was carved after head Z, the definitive small model, or after the head of the enlarged statue.
[5] I cannot identify the studies for the Balzac nos. 219, 223, 225, 227, and 228 in the catalogue of the exhibition *Rodin inconnu,* Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1962-63, but judging from the dimensions, I suspect that each of them coincides with one of the studies that I list here. However, it is impossible to decide with certainty, since *Rodin inconnu* gives different dimensions from the *Balzac* catalogue for the same objects (cf. nos. 217 and 218 with B. 2 and B. 5).
[6] Elsen, 1963, p. 96 mentions a variant of nude *m,* unknown to me, with hands crossed over the groin but right hand not holding the penis.
[7] Goldscheider mentions in *Balzac* that the drapery of this study is made of real cloth dipped in plaster (like the drapery of figure *p*), but it did not seem to be so to me when I examined the work.

V. *Mask of Séverine (Caroline Rémy)*

Plate 47. (G. 264)

Bronze, black patina with green highlights. 5-7/8 x 4-7/8 x 5-1/2 in. 1893. Signed sinister side of neck "A. Rodin," and inside dexter side in relief "A. Rodin." Foundry mark back sinister edge "ALEXIS RUDIER / FONDEUR. PARIS." Gift of Carrie Moss Halle, in memory of Salmon Portland Halle. 60.87

Collections: Salmon Portland Halle, Cleveland (lent to the Museum by him Nov. 11, 1919, to Apr. 23, 1920, therefore bought in the teens or earlier).

Other bronze casts
1. Musée Rodin, Paris.
2. Rodin Museum, Philadelphia. (Black patina. Signed sinister side of neck "A. Rodin.")
3. Kunsthaus, Zurich.

Plaster casts
1. Musée Rodin, Paris.

Drawings of Séverine
A. Sinister three-quarter, ca.1893, charcoal, 12-5/8 x 10-1/4 in., signed lower right "A. R.," Musée Rodin, Paris (sale of the collection Albert Pontremoli, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 11, 1924, cat. no. 103, ill.).
B. Sinister three-quarter, ca.1893, charcoal, 12-1/4 x 9-1/2 in., signed lower right "A. R.," Musée Rodin, Paris (G. 263; Pontremoli sale, no. 104).
C. Charcoal, ca.1893, Musée Rodin, Paris.
D. Front, pencil, Rodin Museum, Philadelphia [Pl. 48].

VI. *Mask of the Japanese Actress Hanako (Ohta Hisa)*

Plate 49. (G. 371)

Bronze, black patina with green, blue and brown highlights. 6-7/8 x 4-5/8 x 3-1/2 in. 1908(?). Signed sinister side of neck "A. Rodin"; and inside sinister side in relief "A. Rodin." Foundry mark dexter side of supporting member "A. RUDIER. FONDEUR." Gift of Carrie Moss Halle, in memory of Salmon Portland Halle. 60.90

Collections: Salmon Portland Halle, Cleveland (lent to the Museum by him Nov. 24, 1917, to May 22, 1918, therefore purchased before Rodin's death).

Exhibitions: Cleveland Museum of Art, Nov. 25, 1917—Jan. 1918: Rodin Memorial Exhibition.

Other bronze casts
1. Musée Rodin, Paris.
2. Coll. H. M. the King of Sweden. (Given to Princess Margaret by Rodin in 1912.)

3. National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo (Ex-Matsukata.)
4. Coll. Mr. and Mrs. Richard Rodgers, New York.
5. Coll. Mrs. Charles McLaren, London.
6. Coll. Dr. B. Schlesinger, Berks (posthumous).
7. Coll. Leonard Gow, Cambridge (posthumous).
8. Coll. Mrs. G. Castle, London (posthumous).
9. Coll. R. Howard, Esq., London (posthumous).
10. Coll. Dr. Gerhardt Adler, London (posthumous).
11. Coll. Mrs. H. J. G. Banks, London (posthumous).
12. Coll. the Earl of Rothes, London (posthumous).
13. Coll. Mrs. N. Parker, London (posthumous).
14. Arcade Gallery, London (posthumous).
15. Coll. Lady Bagrit, London (Christie's sale, March 27, 1942, no. 133).

Terra cottas
1. Musée Rodin, Meudon.

Other portraits of Hanako, 1908-11
A. Head; plaster, H. 18 in., Musée Rodin, Paris and Meudon (G. 372); bronze, H. 11-1/2 in., Rembrandt Art Foundation, Stellenbosch, South Africa [Pl. 50].
B. Mask, terra cotta, H. ca. 6 in., Musée Rodin, Meudon.
C. Mask, H. 6-1/2 in.; bronze, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco; National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo [Pl. 51]; plaster, Rodin Museum, Philadelphia (signed sinister side of neck "A. Rodin"). Enlarged version, H. 12-1/4 in., bronze, Galerie Claude Bernard, Paris; Slatkin Gallery, New York.
D. Mask, H. 6 in.; terra cotta, Musée Rodin, Paris (G. 373); bronze, Paul Drey Gallery, New York [Pl. 52] (signed on sinister side of neck "A. Rodin" and under signature "No 2"; foundry mark on hair, dexter side "Georges Rudier / Fondeur. Paris."; inscribed on sinister back edge "© by Musée Rodin. 1963.").
E. Mask, plaster, colossal, Musée Rodin, Meudon [Pl. 53].
F. Mask, terra cotta(?), present location unknown [Pl. 54].
G. Mask, tinted *pâte de verre*, H. 8-3/4 in. (adaptation of the Cleveland version), Musée Rodin, Paris (G. 423); Rodin Museum, Philadelphia [Pl. 55].

VII. *The Age of Bronze*

Plate 56. (G. 36). Also called *The Vanquished, Man Who Awakens to Nature, The Awakening of Humanity, Primeval Man*, etc.

Bronze, dark brown ("crushed grape") patina. 71-3/16 x 26-1/8 x 18-1/2 in. 1876. First exhibited in plaster at the Cercle Artistique, Brussels, January 1877, and the same year at the Paris Salon, cat. no. 4107. Signed top of base to right "Rodin." Foundry mark back of base "A. RUDIER. FONDEUR. PARIS." Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Ralph King, June 1918. 18.328

Collections: Ralph King, Cleveland (ordered from Rodin before his death).

Publications: "The Man of the Age of Bronze," CMA *Bulletin*, V (June—July 1918), 63. W. M. Milliken, *The Cleveland Museum of Art* (New York, 1958), repr. p. 9. *Handbook of the Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland, 1966), p. 175. *Selected Works: The Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland, 1967), p. 214.

Other bronze casts
1. Musée Rodin, Paris.
2. Tate Gallery, London. (Ex-Victoria and Albert Museum, given by Rodin in 1914. Foundry mark side of base Alexis Rudier.)
3. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. (Purchased in 1901. Signed like Cleveland cast.)
4. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (Given in 1907 by Mrs. John W. Simpson. Green patina. Signed top of base to right "Rodin." Foundry mark back right of base, "ALEXIS RUDIER / FONDEUR PARIS.")
5. California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco. (Purchased in 1914.)
6. National Museum, Stockholm. (Purchased in 1914.)
7. Národní Galerie, Prague. (Purchased from Rodin before his death.)
8. Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, N. Y. (Purchased in 1925. Cast in 1911, 3rd copy.)
9. Minneapolis Institute of Arts. (Brown-greenish patina. Signed top of base to right "Rodin.")
10. National-Galerie, Berlin (East).
11. Folkwang Museum, Essen.
12. Municipal Gallery of Modern Art, Dublin.
13. National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo. (Ex-Matsukata.)
14. Rodin Museum, Philadelphia. (Black patina. Signed left side of base "A. Rodin." Foundry mark back of base, lower right "ALEXIS RUDIER / Fondeur. PARIS.")
15. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.
16. Musée des Beaux Arts, Lyon. (Green patina. Signed top of base to right "Rodin." Foundry mark left back of base "ALEXIS RUDIER/FONDEUR PARIS.")
17. Koninklijk Museum Voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp (on loan to Middelheim Museum).
18. Kunsthaus, Zurich. (Signed like Cleveland cast. Foundry mark left side of base "ALEXIS RUDIER / FONDEUR PARIS.")
19. Kunsthalle, Bremen.
20. Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham, England.
21. Manchester Corporation Art Galleries, England.
22. Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne.

23. Gemeente Museum, The Hague. (Signed on base "Rodin." Foundry mark back of base Alexis Rudier.)
24. Museo Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome. (Dark patina. Signed like Cleveland cast. Foundry mark back of base to right "ALEXIS RUDIER / FONDEUR PARIS.")
25. Christie's sale, March 27, 1942, no. 130. Bought by Dr. Bodkin, England (deceased).
26. Museo de arte moderno, Barcelona. (Dark brown patina. Signed on top right of base "Rodin." Foundry mark back right of base "ALEXIS RUDIER/FONDEUR A PARIS.")
27. Dijon Museum. (Black patina. Signed top of base to right "Rodin." Foundry mark back of base lower right "Alexis Rudier/Fondeur Paris.")

Plaster casts
1. Musée Rodin, Meudon.
2. Musée Municipal, Cognac.
3. Hermitage, Leningrad.
4. Institut Français au Royaume Uni, London.

Small reduced version, H. 26 in.—bronze casts
1. National Gallery, Washington. (Ex-Simpson.)
2. Princeton University Art Museum, Princeton, N. J. (Ex-Walter Rothschild.)
3. Mrs. Stephen C. Clark, New York (on loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).
4. Bridgestone Gallery, Tokyo.
5. Coll. Wright Ludington, Santa Barbara, Calif.
6. Parke-Bernet sale, March 30-31, 1949, no. 152, ill. (Foundry mark A. Rudier.) Bought by Stein.

Large reduced version, H. 38 in.—bronze casts
1. Musée Rodin, Paris.

Drawings
A. The *Age of Bronze* figure, sinister arm resting on broken spear, 1876 or early 1877 (after the finished work), red ink (?), lost (ill. in Maillard, opp. p. 6).

VIII. *Jean d'Aire, one of the Burghers of Calais, Carrying the Key*

Plate 61. (G. 167-170)

Bronze, black patina with green highlights. H. 18-1/2 in. 1886. Signed front right of base "A. Rodin." Foundry mark left back of base "ALEXIS RUDIER / FONDEUR. PARIS." Gift of Löie Fuller, April 1917. 17.723
Collections: Löie Fuller.
Exhibitions: Cleveland Museum of Art, Nov. 25, 1917—Jan. 1918: Rodin Memorial Exhibition.

Other bronze casts
1. National Gallery, Washington. (Ex-Simpson.)
2. California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco. (Signed on top of base left rear "A. Rodin"; and inside "A. Rodin." Foundry mark back right of base "ALEXIS RUDIER / FONDEUR PARIS.")
3. Kunsthalle, Bremen.
4. Slatkin Gallery, New York. (Signed front right of base "A. Rodin." Foundry mark back of base "A. RUDIER. FONDEUR. PARIS.")
5. Marion Koogler McNay Art Institute, San Antonio, Texas.
6. Coll. Mrs. Caudrelier, Paris.
7. Present location unknown. Hôtel Drouot sale, May 31, 1956, no. 6, ill. (Foundry mark Alexis Rudier.)

Plaster casts
1. Musée Rodin, Paris.

Over-lifesize version, H. 80-3/4 in.—bronze casts
Single figure of *Jean d'Aire:*
1. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels.
2. Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam. (Purchased in 1930 from the Musée Rodin, Paris. Signed "A. Rodin." Foundry mark Alexis Rudier.)
3. Solliparken at Drammensveien, Oslo. (Given in 1901.)
4. National Museum of Soares das Reis, Porto. (Ex-coll. C. S. Gulbenkian. Purchased from Paul Rosenberg in 1918.)

Whole group of the *Burghers of Calais:*
1. Town Hall Square, Calais.
2. Musée Rodin, Paris.
3. Gardens of the Houses of Parliament, London.
4. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen.
5. National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo.
6. Kunstmuseum, Basel.
7. Philadelphia Museum of Art.
8. Joseph H. Hirshhorn Coll. [Pl. 58].

Over-lifesize version, H. 80-3/4 in.—plaster casts
Single figure:
1. Chicago Art Institute.

Whole group:
1. Musée Rodin, Meudon.
2. Galleria Internazionale d'Arte Moderna, Venice.

Lifesize version, H. ca. 74 in.—stoneware casts
Single figure:
1. Musée Rodin, Meudon. (Blue-green glaze, cracked. Signed in front of base "A. Rodin" and on back "Jeanneney 1900.")

Studies for the figure of Jean d'Aire

a. Draped small study, H. 27-1/2 in., plaster, Musée Rodin, Meudon [Pl. 59].

b. Over-lifesize nude study, H. 80-3/4 in.; bronze, Kunsthaus, Zurich [Pl. 60]; plaster, Musée Rodin, Meudon.

Studies of the head of Jean d'Aire

A. Terra cotta, H. 5-1/8 in., Musée Rodin, Meudon (G. 170).[1]

B. Plaster, H. 8 in., Sotheby sale, April 11, 1962, no. 47. Sold to Hallsborough. Ex-coll. Général Thomassin and A. Bonasse Lebel, Paris.

C. Colored plaster, H. 12 in. (with rope around the neck), Washington County Museum of Fine Arts, Hagerstown, Md. (Gift of Mrs. Anna Brugh Singer.)

D. Lifesize head, bronze, H. 10-1/4 in., Musée Rodin, Paris.

E. Lifesize bust, H. 18-3/4 in.; bronze, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels; stoneware, yellow-green glaze, Musée Rodin, Meudon (H. 17-1/4 in.; signed in front of sinister shoulder "Rodin" and on back "Jeanneney").

F. Colossal head, plaster, Musée Rodin, Meudon.

[1] There is at Meudon another terra-cotta head of about the same size (with broken-off nose and a lump on the right top of skull), which may also be a study of Jean d'Aire.

IX. *Heroic Head of Pierre de Wiessant, One of the Burghers of Calais*

Plate 62. (G. 167-170)

Bronze, dark green patina. 32-7/8 x 18-1/2 x 21-3/8 in. 1886. Signed back of neck dexter side "A. RODIN." Foundry mark lower back "ALEXIS RUDIER / FONDEUR. PARIS." The Norweb Collection, April 1920. 20.120

Collections: Mrs. Emery May Holden Norweb, Cleveland (purchased in Paris in 1917, before Rodin's death).

Exhibitions: New York, Museum of Modern Art, Apr. 29—Sept. 8, 1963: Rodin, no. 9.

Publications: F. Allen Whiting, "An Heroic Head by Rodin," CMA *Bulletin*, VII (April 1920), 43, repr. on cover. A. E. Elsen, *Rodin* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1963), repr. p. 75.

Other bronze casts of the heroic version

1. Kunstmuseum, Basel.
2. Collection Wright Ludington, Santa Barbara, Calif.(?).
3. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Ghent.

Plaster casts

1. Cleveland Museum of Art [Pl. 62a]. (Gift of Löie Fuller, April 1917. 17.722. Included in Rodin Memorial Exhibition, Cleveland Museum of Art, Nov. 25, 1917-Jan. 1918.)
2. Musée Rodin, Meudon.

Lifesize version, H. 13 in.—bronze casts:

1. Musée Rodin, Paris.
2. Chicago Art Institute.
3. Collection Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Sterling. (Ex-Silberman Galleries.)

Plaster casts

1. California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco.

Terra cotta

1. Art Gallery of Toronto. (Head inclined on base. Purchased in 1928.)

Reduced version, H. 3 in.—bronze casts

1. Musée Rodin, Paris.
2. Rodin Museum, Philadelphia. (Green patina. Signed sinister back of neck "A. Rodin.")

Whole figures of Pierre de Wiessant

A. Small nude study, H. 12-1/4 in., terra cotta, Musée Rodin, Paris (Exh: Paris, Louvre, 1962-63: *Rodin inconnu*, no. 52).

B. Small nude study, H. 26 in., bronze, Musée Rodin, Paris (G. 118); Slatkin Gallery, New York [Pl. 63].

C. Small draped study, H. 27-1/2 in., plaster, Musée Rodin, Meudon [Pl. 64].

D. Large nude study,[1] H. 79 in., bronze, Museum Boymans—van Beuningen, Rotterdam; Winterthur Museum of Art; Kunsthalle, Hamburg; Koninklijk Museum Voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp.

E. Reduced draped figure, H. 18 in., Kunsthalle, Bremen; Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo; Rembrandt Art Foundation, Stellenbosch, South Africa; coll. Mrs. Caudrelier, Paris.

[1] There is also a large nude study for just the body without head and hands, H. 75 in. (bronze, Minneapolis Institute of Art) and a reduction of it, H. 24-5/8 in. (Musée Rodin, Paris).

X. *The Thinker*

Plate 68. (G. 55 and 56). Originally *The Poet*, from the tympanum of the *Gates of Hell*.

Bronze, green patina. 72 x 38-3/4 x 56 in. (enlarged version). 1880-81. Signed on base near sinister foot "A. Rodin." Foundry mark left side of base "ALEXIS RUDIER / FONDEUR. PARIS." Gift of Ralph King, 1917. 17.42

Collections: Ralph King, Cleveland (purchased from Rodin in August 1916).

Exhibitions: Cleveland Museum of Art, Nov. 25, 1917-Jan. 1918: Rodin Memorial Exhibition.

Other bronze casts of the enlarged version[1]

1. Musée Rodin, Paris.
2. Musée Rodin, Meudon (over Rodin's tomb).
3. City of Louisville, Ky. (Lent to the University. Foundry mark back lower right "CIRE PERDUE / A. A. HEBRARD.")
4. Rodin Museum, Philadelphia. (Green patina. Signed right side of base "A. Rodin.")
5. Detroit Institute of Arts.
6. Baltimore Museum of Art.
7. National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo. (Ex-Matsukata.)
8. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. (Bought in 1906.)
9. California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco. (Bought in 1915.)
10. National-Galerie, Berlin (East).
11. Columbia University, New York. (Signed right side of base lower right "A. Rodin." Foundry mark lower right back of base Alexis Rudier.)

Plaster casts[2]

1. Galleria Internazionale d'Arte Moderna, Venice. (Purchased at the Biennale of 1907. Bronze color patina).
2. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden. (Acquired in 1904 from the large art exhibition in Dresden.)
3. Museum Narodowego, Poznan. (Acquired in 1910.)

Original size used on the Gates, H. 27 in.—bronze casts

1. Musée Rodin, Paris. (Brown-green patina. Signed right side of base "A. Rodin." Foundry mark lower back of base "ALEXIS RUDIER / FONDEUR. PARIS.")
2. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. (Purchased in 1909.)
3. National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo. (Ex-Matsukata.)
4. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (Purchased ca. 1911.)
5. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. (Purchased in 1901. Signed left side of base "A. Rodin.")
6. Rodin Museum, Philadelphia. (Black patina. Signed on left side of base "A. Rodin." Foundry mark back of base, lower right "ALEXIS RUDIER / Fondeur. PARIS.")
7. National Gallery, Washington. (Ex-Simpson.)
8. Collection Stephen C. Clark, New York.
9. National-Galerie, Berlin (East).
10. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels.
11. Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève, Geneva. (Ex-Musée Rath. Acquired in 1896. Black patina. Signed lower right side of base "Rodin.")
12. Museo de Arte de Sao Paulo, Brazil.
13. Ateneum, Helsinki.
14. Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo.
15. Coll. Herbert Mayer, Greenwich, Conn.
16. Gallery of Modern Art, New York.
17. Paul Rosenberg Gallery, New York.
18. Collection S. Simpson, New York(?) (Sotheby sale, December 14, 1955).
19. Toledo Museum of Art. (Gift of E. Drummond Libbey, 1926. Black patina. Signed right side of base "A. Rodin." Foundry mark lower right back of base "Alexis Rudier / Fondeur. Paris.")
20. Ordrupgaard Collection, Copenhagen.
21. Vatican Museum. (Gift of the Musée Rodin. Foundry mark Georges Rudier. Posthumous cast dated 1956.)

Bronze casts of The Gates of Hell (posthumous)

1. Musée Rodin, Paris.
2. Rodin Museum, Philadelphia [Pl. 65]. (Green patina. Foundry mark lower right side "Alexis Rudier / Fondeur. Paris.")
3. National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo.
4. Kunsthaus, Zurich.

Plaster casts

1. Musée Rodin, Paris.

Reduced version, H. 15-1/4 in.—bronze casts

1. Bridgestone Gallery, Tokyo.
2. W. R. Nelson Gallery of Art, Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Mo.
3. Coll. Mr. and Mrs. Samuel H. Maslon, Palm Springs, Calif.
4. Roland, Browse and Delbanco Galleries, London (Sotheby sale, June 22, 1966, no. 70).
5. James Graham Gallery, New York. (Foundry mark Alexis Rudier.)
6. Parke-Bernet sale, March 28-29, 1947, no. 324, ill. (Black patina. Foundry mark Alexis Rudier.) Bought by Mary Horgan, New York, for private collector.

Drawings

A. Drawing after *The Thinker*, 1888, pen and ink, illustration for "Les Bijoux," one of the poems in C. Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du mal.*

[1] There also seem to be large bronzes of *The Thinker* in London and Buenos Aires, but I was not able to confirm this information.

[2] The bronze-colored plaster in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, was cast after a bronze.

XI. *Head of the Little Martyr*

Plate 69. (G. 147-148). Used in tympanum and panels of the *Gates of Hell* over ten times.

Bronze, black patina with green highlights. 6-3/8 x 6-1/2 x 6-1/2 in. Early 1880's. Signed sinister side "A. Rodin"; and inside front in relief "A. Rodin." Foundry mark back "A. RUDIER / FONDEUR. PARIS." Gift of Carrie Moss Halle, in memory of Salmon Portland Halle. 60.89

Collections: Salmon Portland Halle, Cleveland (lent to the Museum by him Nov. 24, 1917-May 22, 1918, therefore purchased before Rodin's death).

Exhibitions: Cleveland Museum of Art, Nov. 25, 1917-Jan. 1918: Rodin Memorial Exhibition.

Publications: La Chronique des arts (supplement to the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts)*, no. 1165 (Feb. 1966), p. 64, repr. no. 249.

Other bronze casts

1. Musée Rodin, Paris.
2. California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco. (Dark brown patina. Signed back lower right "Rodin.")

Plaster casts

1. Musée Rodin, Paris.

Terra cottas

1. Musée Rodin, Meudon (cut differently).

Whole figure of Little Martyr, L. 24 in.[1]
bronze casts

1. Musée Rodin, Paris.

Plaster casts

1. Musée Rodin, Paris.

Enlarged figure of Martyr, L. 62-1/4 in. (G. 146)—bronze casts

1. Musée Rodin, Paris.
2. Rodin Museum, Philadelphia. (Brown patina. Signed by dexter side of head "A. Rodin." Foundry mark by sinister shoulder "Alexis Rudier / Fondeur Paris.")
3. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
4. Kunsthaus, Zurich.
5. Národní Galerie, Prague.

Plaster casts

1. Národní Galerie, Prague.

Other works containing the Martyr

A. *The Fall of Icarus*,[2] plaster, H. 17-3/4, L. 27 in. (nude L. 22-1/2 in.) Musée Rodin, Paris (ex-Albert Kahn) [Pl. 70].
B. *Broken Lily*, 1909, marble, Sourisseau tomb, St. Acheul cemetery, Amiens [Pl. 71].
C. *Orpheus and Euridice*, marble (figure of Euridice, H. 26-1/2 in.), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York [Pl. 72].

[1]A smaller female nude that Grappe (no. 149) relates to the *Martyr* appears to be a completely different work.
[2]Different from the *Icaresse* or *Fall of Icarus* mentioned in Grappe, no. 237 (cf. pp. 56, 73). There is also a drawing called *Icarus* (Elsen, *Gates*, pl. 94) representing a falling winged figure similar in position to the *Fall of Icarus* but not with the body of the *Martyr*.

XII. *Fallen Caryatid Carrying Her Stone*

Plate 73. (G. 63 and 64) Also called *Destiny* or *Une Damnée*; from top left post of the *Gates of Hell*.

Bronze, black patina with brown and green highlights. H. 17-1/8 in. 1880-81(?). First exhibited at the International Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture, Georges Petit Gallery, Paris, 1886. Signed back right of base "A. Rodin"; and inside front in relief "A. Rodin." Foundry mark front right of base "ALEXIS RUDIER / FONDEUR. PARIS." Gift of Mrs. Ralph King, Ralph T. Woods, Charles G. King and Frances King Schafer, in memory of Ralph King. ~~47.352~~ A6.352

Collections: Ralph King, Cleveland (purchased from Carnegie International Exhibition, Pittsburgh, 1920).

Exhibitions: Pittsburgh, 1920: 19th International Exhibition, no. 386.

Other bronze casts

1. National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo. (Ex-Matsukata.)
2. Musée Rodin, Paris. (Black patina. Signed back of base "Rodin." Foundry mark left side of base "CIRE PERDUE / A. A. HEBRARD.")
3. Los Angeles County Museum. (Foundry mark Alexis Rudier.)
4. Chicago Art Institute.
5. Koninklijk Museum Voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp.
6. Coll. Mrs. Jefferson Dickson, New York. (Ex-Jules Mastbaum.)
7. Slatkin Gallery, New York.
8. Coll. David Lewis, Detroit, Michigan. (Ex-World House Galleries, New York. Foundry mark "Alexis Rudier / Fondeur Paris (G) Musée Rodin 1955.")
9. Tate Gallery, London.[1]
10. Colchester Albert Hall and Art Gallery, England.[1]
11. Marlborough Gallery, London. (Catalogue Summer 1958, no. 89.)

Carved replicas

1. Marble, H. 21-3/4 in., Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. (Bought in 1907. Signed left side of base "A. RODIN.") [Pl. 74.]
2. Stone, H. 24-1/2 in., Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels. [Pl. 75.]

Enlarged version, H. 51-1/4 in.—bronze casts
1. Musée Rodin, Paris.

Plaster casts
1. Musée Rodin, Meudon.

Caryatid Carrying Urn (G. 91), H. 15-3/4 in. and enlarged version, H. 49-1/4 in. (bronze casts of both at the Musée Rodin, Paris).

[1]Both the Tate and Colchester bronzes were cast (the latter in 1928 and the former in 1950) from a plaster given by Rodin, with all reproduction rights, to Sir Thomas Brock in 1906; this plaster was presented to the Tate by F. Watts in 1928, but in their 1957 inventory it was reported as missing.

XIII. *The Sirens*

Plate 76. (G. 186 and 187) Also called *The Song of the Sirens, Nereids,* and *Niobe;* from the left panel of the *Gates of Hell.*

Bronze, black patina. H. 17, L. 16-3/8 in. (enlarged version). Ca.1885. Signed front left of base "A. Rodin"; and inside front in relief "A. Rodin." Foundry mark back left of base "ALEXIS RUDIER/FONDEUR. PARIS." In memory of Ralph King. Gift of Mrs. Ralph King, Ralph T. Woods, Charles G. King, and Frances King Schafer. 46.350

Collections: Ralph King, Cleveland (purchased from Carnegie International Exhibition, Pittsburgh, 1920).

Exhibitions: Pittsburgh, 1920: 19th International Exhibition, no. 378. New York, Museum of Modern Art, June 6-Sept. 6, 1960: Art Nouveau, no. 239 (also at Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, Oct. 13-Dec. 12, 1960; Los Angeles County Museum, Jan. 10-March 4, 1961; Baltimore Museum of Art, Apr. 1-May 15, 1961).

Publications: Art Journal, XX (Spring 1961), 173, repr.

Other bronze casts of this enlarged version
1. Rodin Museum, Philadelphia. (Black patina.)
2. National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo. (Ex-Matsukata.)
3. Musée Rodin, Paris. (Green patina. Signed front left of base "A. Rodin." Foundry mark back right of base "ALEXIS RUDIER / Fondeur PARIS.")
4. Marlborough Gallery, London. (Catalogue Summer 1958, no. 90.)

Plaster casts
1. Musée Rodin, Paris.
2. Rodin Museum, Philadelphia (H. 19 in.).

Carved replicas
1. Marble, H. 17-1/2 in., Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. (Ex-Drummond. Called *The Wave.*) [Pl. 77.]
2. Marble, H. 20-1/2 in., Thiel Gallery, Djurgarden, Stockholm [Pl. 78].
3. Marble, H. 30 in., L. ca. 25-1/2 in., Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. (Ex-Linde Collection. Signed front right of base "A. Rodin.") [Pl. 79.]

Original size used in the Gates of Hell, H. 10-1/4 in., L. 10 in. (different edition, H. 9 in.)—bronze casts
1. Musée Rodin, Paris.
2. Sotheby sale, November 23, 1960, no. 133 (H. 9 in. Foundry mark "L. Perzinka.") Bought by A. Einstein, London (deceased).

Plaster casts
1. Musée Rodin, Paris.
2. Musée Rodin, Meudon.

Other works containing the group of The Sirens
A. *Death of the Poet,* plaster, H. 10-1/2 in. (*Sirens* in the original size), Musée Rodin, Paris (G. 198).
B. Definitive project for the second *Monument to Victor Hugo* (for the Pantheon), plaster (group of the *Sirens* L. ca. 36 in.), Musée Rodin, Meudon (cf. G. 268) [Pl. 11].

XIV. *Embracing Couple*

Plate 80. Reduction of a relief from the bottom right post of the *Gates of Hell,* made in the early 1880's.

Plaster. 4-1/2 x 2-5/16 x 13/16 in. After 1900. Signed in pencil on lower back "A Loie / Rodin." Lent by Löie Fuller, November 1917. 2116.17

Collections: Löie Fuller.

Exhibitions: Cleveland Museum of Art, Nov. 25, 1917-Jan. 1918: Rodin Memorial Exhibition.

Other plaster casts of reduced version
1. National Gallery, Washington. (Ex-Simpson. Arm of male figure slightly different.) [Pl. 81.]

Drawings for Embracing Couple
A.Pen and ink, 6-3/4 x 4-3/4 in., National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo. (Titled *Dante and Virgil,* inv. no. P-256; ill. in Rodin catalogue [Tokyo: N.M.W.A., 1966], no. 141.)

XV. *Protection*

Plate 82. (G.433) Reduction of the relief *Vain Tenderness* from the top left post of the *Gates of Hell,* made in the early 1880's (G. 213).[1]

Silver. 3-3/4 x 1-9/16 x 5/16 in. Signed at bottom "Rodin." Stamped on frame at left "ARGENT." Inscribed on back in relief: "PROTECTION / COMPOSE PAR / AUGUSTE RODIN/POUR/ 'THE FRENCH ACTORS FUND' /AU PROFIT DE L'AIDE AUX ARTISTES / ET EMPLOYES DE THEATRE / EN COLLABORATION / AVEC / L'ASSOCIATION / DES / DIRECTEURS DE THEATRE / DE PARIS / PARIS. NEW YORK / MCMXVI." Gift of Mrs. Ralph King. 43.47

Exhibitions: Cleveland Museum of Art, Jan. 1918: Rodin Memorial Exhibition (late addition).

Other silver casts
1. Musée Rodin, Paris.

Original size (as separate piece outside of the Gates), H. 35-1/2 in.—bronze casts
1. Musée Rodin, Paris.

[1] A study, unknown to me, for *Vain Tenderness*, ca.1881, pen and ink and gouache, 6-3/4 x 3 in., Musée Rodin, Paris (no. 3758) is listed in the catalogue *Rodin inconnu* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 1962-63), no. 23.

XVI. *Embracing Children, or Little Brother and Sister*

Plate 84. (G.71)

White marble (two pieces). Height of top piece 14-1/4 in.; total H. 22-1/4 in. Ca. 1881. Signed on upper piece under figures to right "A. Rodin." Gift of Salmon Portland Halle, November 1917. 17.745

Collections: Salmon P. Halle, Cleveland (ordered from Rodin before his death).

Exhibitions: Cleveland Museum of Art, Nov. 25, 1917-Jan. 1918: Rodin Memorial Exhibition.

Bronze casts, H. 14 in.
1. Chicago Art Institute [Pl. 83].

Other carved replicas
1. Marble, H. 14-1/2 in., Musée Rodin, Paris [Pl. 85].
2. Marble, H. 15-1/4 in., Robert H. Fleming Museum, University of Vermont, Burlington. (Gift of Miss Jean Simpson. Inscribed "Monsieur & Madame J. W. Simpson à leur fille Jean." Signed and dated "A. Rodin 1906.") [Pl. 86.]

XVII. *The Fall of the Angels*

Plate 88. (G.411)

White marble. H. 20-1/2 in. 1890's(?) Signed under dexter wing of male figure "A. Rodin." Gift of Carrie Moss Halle, in memory of Salmon Portland Halle. 60.85

Collections: Salmon Portland Halle, Cleveland (lent to the Museum by him Apr. 17 to May 21, 1924).

Bronze casts, H. 12 in.
1. Sotheby sales, June 22, 1966, no. 69, ill.; Dec. 7-8, 1966, no. 79, ill. [Pl. 87].

Plaster casts, H. 12-1/2 in.
1. Musée Rodin, Paris.

XVIII. *Triumphant Youth*

Plate 91. (G. 270) Also called *Jeune Fille et la Parque*, or *Le Baiser de l'Aïeule*, or *La Parque et la Convalescente.*

Bronze, black patina. H. 20-1/2 in. (Girl, L. 18 in.). Ca. 1894. Signed front left "A. Rodin." Circular foundry mark on dexter side of old woman by edge of base "FUMIERE / THIEBAUT FRES / PARIS / ET CIE SUCRS." Left of foundry mark inscribed "24me Epreuve." Stamped inside "8930." Gift of Carrie Moss Halle, in memory of Salmon Portland Halle. 60.88

Collections: Salmon Portland Halle, Cleveland (lent to the Museum by him Oct. 29, 1925-Apr. 19, 1926).

Other bronze casts
1. Musée Rodin, Paris.
2. California Palace of the Legion of Honor. (Green patina.)
3. Rodin Museum, Philadelphia. (Black patina. Signed front right of base "A. Rodin.")
4. Durban Art Gallery, Natal, South Africa.
5. Collection J. London, New York. (Parke-Bernet sale, May 19, 1954, no. 35.)
6. F. Schnittzer, New York. (Ex-coll. E. W. Hellwig, New York. Dark brown patina. Foundry mark Fumière-Thiébaut. Parke-Bernet sale, Dec. 11, 12 and 13, 1941, no. 286.)

Bronze casts of the figure of the old woman known as Celle qui fut la Belle Heaulmière *or* Old Courtesan, *or* The Winter, *early 1880's, H. 20 in. (G. 122)*
1. Musée Rodin, Paris.
2. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
3. Rodin Museum, Philadelphia. (Black patina. Signed right side of base "A. Rodin." Foundry mark back of base, lower right "ALEXIS RUDIER / fondeur. PARIS.").
4. National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo. (Ex-Matsukata.)
5. Slatkin Gallery, New York.
6. Parke-Bernet sale, October 26, 1955, no. 54. Bought by Cohen.

Other compositions containing the Old Courtesan
A. *Les Sources taries* (two figures of the *Old Courtesan* facing each other in a grotto); plaster, Musée Rodin, Meudon.

Other compositions containing the young girl
A. *Esculape* or *Ex-voto*, ca.1903, bronze, H. 26-3/4 in. (girl, L. 18 in.), Musée Rodin, Paris (G. 326) [Pl. 92].
B. *The Earth and the Moon*, 1890's(?), plaster, H. 48 in. (girl, L. ca. 27 in.), Musée Rodin, Paris (G. 294) [Pl. 93].

XIX. *The Good Fairy*

Plate 94. (G. 310) Also called *Young Girl Confiding Her Secret to Isis*, or *Cérès*, or *Etreinte*.

Bronze, dark patina. H. 9 in. 1890's(?). Exhibited in Rodin's retrospective, Paris, 1900, cat. no. 128. Signed under sinister hand of kneeling figure "Rodin." Foundry mark back under kneeling figure "L. Perzinka / fondeur / Versailles." Bequest of George Matthew Adams. 63.253

Collections: Albert Pontremoli. Bought by the Knoedler Galleries, New York, at the sale of the collection, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 11, 1924, cat. no. 153, ill. Purchased from Knoedler by George Matthew Adams in 1927.

Other bronze casts
1. Slatkin Gallery, New York.
2. Sale of Collection Jacques Zoukaloff, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, 1927, no. 248; present location unknown.

Plaster casts
1. Rodin Museum, Philadelphia.

Enlarged version, carved replicas
1. Marble, H. 29 in., Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. (Bought in 1907. Signed on base "A. RODIN.") [Pl. 95.]

Plaster casts (after a marble), H. 28-1/4 in.
1. Musée Rodin, Paris.

Bronze casts (after a marble), H. 28-1/4 in.
1. Musée Rodin, Paris [Pl. 96].

XX. *The Hand of God, or Creation*

Plate 97. (G.291)

Bronze, green-brown patina. 6 x 6-1/2 x 5-3/8 in. (The hand itself, H. 4-1/2 in.) 1890's(?). Exhibited at the Rodin retrospective, Paris, 1900, cat. no. 67. Signed on base under fingers "A. Rodin"; and in relief underneath "A. Rodin." Bequest of James Parmelee. 40.579

Collections: James Parmelee, Washington.

Plaster casts
1. California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco. (H. 6-1/4 in.)

Middle size, H. 12-1/2 in.—bronze casts
1. Musée Rodin, Paris [Pl. 97a].
2. James Graham & Sons, New York. (Ex-World House Galleries.)

Large size, H. 26-3/4 in. (hand, H. ca.23 in.)—bronze casts (after a marble?)
1. Rodin Museum, Philadelphia. (Green-brown patina. Signed top of base on thumb side "A. Rodin." Foundry mark on small finger side of base "ALEXIS RUDIER / FONDEUR PARIS.") [Pl. 101.]

Carved replicas[1]
1. Marble, H. 37-1/2 in.,[2] Musée Rodin, Paris [Pl. 98].
2. Marble, 29 x 29 x 23 in. (the hand itself, H. 16-1/2 in.), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (carved by Victor Frisch) [Pl. 99].
3. Marble, H. 39-1/2 in., Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence (Ex-Samuel P. Colt) [Pl. 100].

[1] There must be another carved replica of this work in the reserves of Meudon, as can be seen in Elsen, *Gates*, pl. 73.
[2] Grappe (no. 291) gives the height of this marble as 24-3/4 in., but according to my measurements it is ca.37-1/2 in.

XXI. *Left Foot*

Plate 103.

Bronze, dark green patina. H. 2-7/8 in., L. 4-7/8 in. Signed over heel "A. Rodin." Gift of Löie Fuller, June 1917. 17.372

Collections: Löie Fuller.

Exhibitions: Cleveland Museum of Art, Nov. 25, 1917-Jan. 1918: Rodin Memorial Exhibition.

XXII. *Right Leg*

Plate 104.

Plaster. L. 2-3/4 in. Gift of Auguste Rodin (through Emery May Holden), June 1917. 17.289

Exhibitions: Cleveland Museum of Art, Nov. 25, 1917-Jan. 1918: Rodin Memorial Exhibition.

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